

SAOIRSE

IRISH FREEDOM

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Nollaig Shona
dár léitheoirí



Reynolds formula reinforces status quo

British pull-out: the key to peace

THE rapid sequence of events at the end of November which saw the publishing of details of the contacts between the British government and the Provisionals and the subsequent exposure of Albert Reynolds' formula for a 'peace process' have served to clarify what is on offer and, more importantly, what is not on the agenda at the current time.

Albert Reynolds has said that what he is seeking from the British government is "an acknowledgement of the right of people living in Ireland to self-determination based on consent freely given, north and south". Stripped of its careful phrasing this allows the Unionists in the Six Counties a continued veto over any moves towards an end to the British presence in Ireland. It therefore reinforces the status quo under the new buzz-word of "consent".

A moment's examination of what "consent" means will show that it confers on 18 per cent of the population of the 32 Counties (ie the unionists) the right to block the will of the rest of the population and to secede and establish their own state. By the same logic then the nationalists, who make up almost 43% of the Six-County population (or more than double the unionist percentage for the whole island) should be allowed to block the will of the unionists, secede and form their own state within the Six Counties!

That is patently undemocratic and this tyranny of "consent" was always opposed by the Republican struggle in order to replace it with true all-Ireland democracy "to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all of its parts" as the 1916 Proclamation states.

70 PER CENT

What consent was freely given by the 70 per cent of the people of the 32 Counties who voted for the all-Ireland Republic in 1918 to the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 and the partition of Ireland that followed it? Or at any time since then?

It is worth recalling that Section 2 (1) of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 offered a Council of Ireland "with a view to the eventual establishment of a parliament for the whole of Ireland...". With typical British duplicity as they divided the island of Ireland into two artificial statelets the British were saying that their intention was to bring it back together again!

To accept the Reynolds formula is therefore to play with loaded dice. John Major and the Ulster Unionists with whom he is locked in alliance at Westminster are looking less and less eager to play with Dublin and thus the summit to end all summits on December 3 was downgraded to a working meeting, one of series to be held during December.

How close to the action Molyneux's party are at the moment can be judged from his statement on Friday, November 26 that there was going to be a development over the weekend in regard to what he called a "terrorist" group.

Again, when the *Observer* published documents from the British government/Provisionals contacts on Sunday, November 28, Patrick Mayhew looked shaken at his Stormont press conference that afternoon but by the following day when he had had time to consult with the unionists he was cool and assured before the House of Commons. The unionists own reaction to the documents was relaxed, laid back and confident.

Lastly the likely appointment of a Northern Ireland Select Committee during December is being looked on as an instalment on Ulster Unionist support for the Tories.



• Albert Reynolds' "consent" formula allows these men to stay in Ireland indefinitely.

In the *Financial Times* on Thursday, November 25 an unnamed British cabinet minister was quoted as saying that Molyneux's veto on anything Major might agree to on Ireland was "absolute".

NOWHERE

Nowhere in the documents presented by the British or the Provisionals at the end of November is there mention of a British withdrawal from Ireland or a declaration of intent to do so. Having given up their objectives the Provisionals stand accused of a political surrender. The media on all sides state that it is a sell-out, Marion Finucane on RTE can state that "the IRA accepts the Union" and the Provisionals have not denied it.

What they are seeking in return is for a place at a negotiating table that has a British agenda. John Hume has stated that he and Gerry Adams were looking for "a commitment from the British government to a peace process involving both the government and all parties with a view to reaching

an agreement". He and Adams have not discussed a solution, only a process.

It is clear that this would be similar to the "talks about talks" episode last year except that the Provisionals would be included, having first of all called a ceasefire. Both Hume and Reynolds calculate that with the Provisionals sitting at the table the talks would have a better chance of success.

THREATENING

Meanwhile the loyalists, with the help of John Bruton in Dublin, are threatening nationalists with dire consequences if the "peace process" is not to their liking. The Polish arms shipment is the latest in a long pattern stretching back at least to the Larne gun-running in 1912, designed to terrorise the nationalist community into accepting continued British rule. Who says the unionists haven't got guns at the conference table?

True peace can only be achieved in Ireland if the British government gives a public declaration of withdrawal. They hold the key to peace.

SEÁN SABHAT COMMEMORATION



Limerick

Sunday, January 2

ASSEMBLE:

BEDFORD ROW
12.45 pm

Fáilte roimh chách

DERRY FAMILY IN RUC RAID TERROR

A DERRY CITY family thought they were going to be massacred by a British-controlled death squad when unidentified men in combat clothing burst into their home on Friday, November 19, waving guns and shouting abuse.

The attack happened at around 5pm at the Kelly family home in Beechmount Avenue and it was only after three brothers had been forced to kneel down and assaulted that the gunmen said they were being arrested under Section 14, revealing themselves as RUC paramilitary policemen.

Eamon Kelly (21) said he and his two brothers were "made kneel down facing the walls in the front room. They kept hitting us on the back of the head, kneeling us. They asked

some questions but if they didn't like the answer, they hit you. My head was banged off the wall and I was forced to kneel over a roasting radiator".

FORENSIC SUITS

The brothers were forced into white forensic suits with their hands cuffed behind their backs. They were told if they moved they would be shot and guns were kept pointed at their heads. Brian Kelly said that two women and his two grandchildren, Erin (3) and Ben

(4) were also in the house at the time.

He described the RUC action in the wake of the October 30 UFF Greysteel massacre of seven people only miles away as "disgusting and disgraceful".

Lily Kelly said that when she arrived at the house the two children were almost hysterical. Erin has been withdrawn and unable to sleep since the incident, she said. Their lawyer intends to take a civil action against the RUC Chief Constable for assault, battery, trespass to the person and false imprisonment.

ORDEAL

During the ordeal Kieran Kelly (24) suffered serious palpitations in his heart and a tightening of the chest. The RUC

squad panicked at this, called an ambulance and then spent ten minutes searching the vehicle before Kieran was allowed into it. The three brothers were arrested for an hour and then told to stay indoors while another team of RUC, in uniform, arrived and raided the house. The second squad were verbally abusive but did not physically assault them.

Underlining the seriousness of the incident, Brian Kelly asked: "What would have happened if my sons had resisted these armed men who broke into their house, waving guns everywhere. Everyone in the house was convinced they were loyalist gunmen, if one of my sons had resisted or run away, what would the RUC have said if they'd opened fire?"



M15 agent Pat Daly.

Spring called to M15 trial

THE lawyer for one of two Irishmen on trial on charges arising out of the activities of Galway-based M15 agent Pat Daly has subpoenaed Dublin foreign affairs minister Dick Spring to answer questions about the activities of M15 agents in the 26 Counties.

The subpoena was faxed to Spring on November 29 and the lawyer, Gregg McCartney has said that his evidence would be required during the second or third week of the trial, which started on November 29. Daly gave evidence behind a screen the following day.

Nationalist family bombed out of home

A NATIONALIST couple and their two children aged one and two have fled their home following a petrol-bomb attack in the predominantly-loyalist Park Avenue estate in Dungannon, Co Tyrone early on Monday, November 15.

Damian Devlin, his wife Deborah and their two children are now living in a hotel because no other accommodation has been found for them. The conditions are intolerable for the family as they have to vacate their rooms at 12 noon every day and have no access to cooking facilities.

The petrol-bombing incident was the latest in a long series of intimidatory actions against the family, who have been denied a transfer to other public authority housing.

Elderly couple targeted in Newtownabbey

PRO-BRITISH death squads attacked the home of an elderly nationalist man and his wife in Whitehouse Park, Newtownabbey at about 7pm on Tuesday, November 16. The man returned fire with his own personal weapon and the loyalist gunman fled, having wounded the couple's German shepherd dog.

The attack happened in a predominantly loyalist middle-class area near the Rathcoole estate north of Belfast, and conforms to a pattern of attacks by British-controlled death squads on isolated nationalists in recent weeks in order to create terror and submission among the nationalist population.

The retired engineer's home was actually targeted before in 1974 when a bomb was left outside the house. He had disturbed the bombers on that occasion and managed to return fire on them as well. His legally-held rifle has now been taken from him by the British Crown Forces for forensic examination.

Also in Newtownabbey a nationalist couple in the Rathcoole area have appealed to be given a new home following a series of attacks by loyalists in recent months. A six-foot plank was thrown through their livingroom window, £1,400 damage was done to their cars, their hedge was set on fire and windows broken on numerous occasions.

Informer recruitment attempts in Kerry

ATTEMPTS have been made by Free State police recently to recruit members of Republican Sinn Féin in Kerry as informers. John Brennan, Ballyheigue, Organiser, Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Republican Sinn Féin, whose house was raided on Friday, November 26 was arrested and taken to Listowel barracks by Special Branchmen McCarthy, Brew, Queally and O'Neill. He was held in custody for twelve hours.

During the course of his interrogation John was offered "thousands" of pounds if he became an informer. Needless to say he politely refused. After his release John asked the question "Do the taxpayers know what is being done with their money?" It's doubtful they did, but now they do.

On the following day, Saturday, November 27 the homes of another Kerry Comhairle Ceantair officer, Maurice Dowling and of the members of Republican Sinn Féin Matt Leen and Joe Tuohy in the Tralee area were also raided by Special Branchmen from Tralee.

Cruinniú ag díograiseoirí teangan i bProvens

CHRUINNIGH díograiseoirí teangan ó náisiúin bhéara ar fud na hEorpa le chéile le gairdín in Antibes — Juan les Pins, Provens. Shocráfaid ar eagraíocht nua darb ainm "Federation des Maisons de Pays" a bhunú. Bíonnadathá ó Oideas Gael, Gleann Cholmáille agus ó Thearrmann Lár. Cona hIarmhííláthair ar son na hÉireann.

NO PROSECUTION IN RUC SHOOT-TO-KILL

the two cars and kicked the dying man as he lay on the time which contradicted the British version of events and



Pearse Jordan's Ford Orion is jammed behind the undercover RUC Sierra on November 25, 1992.

THE British Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) in the Six Counties announced on Monday, November 22 that there would be no charges brought against the undercover RUC paramilitary policeman who shot dead a 21-year-old Belfastman after ramming his car on November 25 last year.

Pearse Jordan from New Barnsley Drive was a member of the Provisionals' military wing who was driving along the Falls Road in West Belfast at about 5.15pm, heading towards the city centre.

As he passed St John's Church, his vehicle was rammed by a red Ford Sapphire and from behind by a green car, forcing his

car onto the pavement. Jordan ran away from the scene but was only feet from his car when he was shot in the back by one of the plainclothes RUC men. He was unarmed and no warning was given before he was opened fire on.

Local eyewitnesses said that four men dressed in casual clothes ran over to Jordan from

ground. Nothing was found in the car but the British Crown Forces leaked a series of lies to the media at the time alleging that incriminating items were found, which were faithfully reported for hours afterwards.

The RUC alleged Jordan "failed to stop at a mobile patrol" and their member who killed the young man will now "never have to publicly account for his actions" according to Martin O'Brien of the human rights group, the Committee on the Administration of Justice.

They took a number of eyewitness statements at the

criticised the DPP's decision.

If there eventually is an "inquest" into Pearse Jordan's death the RUC men will not have to attend, the family of the deadman will receive no legal aid and will be denied access to official documents. Martin O'Brien says the inquest system in the Six Counties fails to meet United Nations regulations laying down that there should be a "thorough, prompt and impartial investigation" into controversial deaths. This is deliberately blocked in Occupied Ireland to cover-up Britain's shoot-to-kill policy.

I would like to join Republican Sinn Féin
Ba mhaith liom bheith i mo bhall de Sinn Féin Poblachtach

Aim
Seoladh

Send to: Oifig ÉIRE NUA,
41 Cé Árann, BÁC 7.
Tell: 01-872 9747; Facs: 01-872 9757
or contact your local paper seller for details.



OUR AIMS
For a full British withdrawal from Ireland . . . The establishment of a true 32-County FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST Republic . . . The establishment of a new all-Ireland parliament, completely outside the present partitionist set-up, to oversee the running of the new neutral non-aligned Ireland . . .

OUR HISTORY
Formed in 1905 . . . We are the oldest political organisation in the country . . . Organised throughout the 32 Counties . . . We have continuously rejected the failed political entities of the Six and 26 Counties in existence since the British partitioned our country . . .

UVF ARMS SEIZURE RAISES QUESTIONS

A MASSIVE consignment of arms and explosives was found by British Customs on a Polish container ship at Teesport Dock, Cleveland on November 24. The UVF claimed the shipment — containing 300 AKM assault rifles, 500 grenades, 70,000 rounds of ammunition, handguns, detonators and two tons of semtex military explosives — was being smuggled by them into East Belfast. The arms were listed as ten pallets of tiles for a double glazing and conservatory company in Sydney Street West, East Belfast, whose directors were apparently unaware they were being used as a front.

The arms were manufactured in Poland and the rifles were traced back to the sole Polish manufacturer, the Lucznik factory which employs 6,000 people to make the AKM, the modern version of the AK47 or Kalashnikov rifle. The entire haul was valued at £250,000 sterling.

It had sailed in the MV *Inowroclaw* from the Polish port of Gdynia on November 19 and docked at Tilbury in the south of England first before sailing on to Teesport, on what was a regular weekly run.

NO ARRESTS

There were no arrests on the ship, in England or Belfast following the seizure. The circumstances beg the question as to why the shipment, clearly known to the Polish and British authorities from an early stage, was not tailed to its final destination in Belfast and those responsible for it arrested?

Apart from the two tons of semtex explosives, the shipment was similar in size to the New Year's Eve 1988 arms haul from South Africa landed by loyalists with the full knowledge of British intelligence through their agent in the UDA, Brian Nelson. He was responsible for negotiating that arms shipment after meeting with South African government representatives.

The British Ministry of Defence and a British government minister (thought to be Alan Clark) had given clearance through Nelson's

British army "handlers" for negotiations to begin on the shipment as early as 1985.

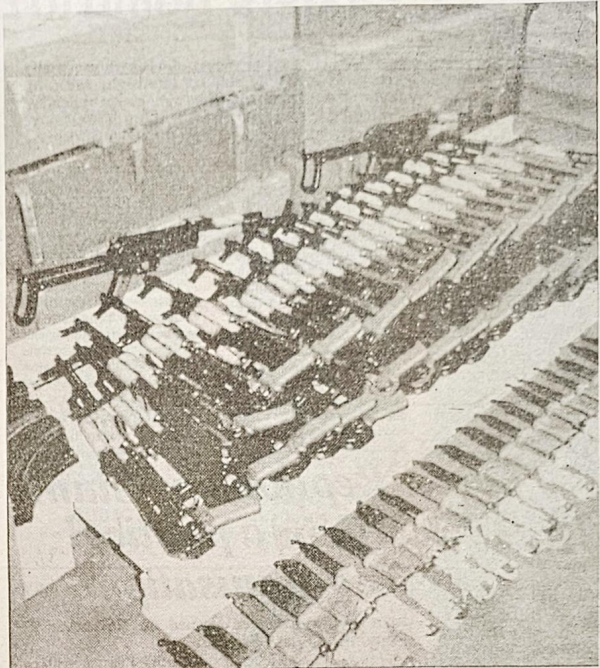
SPLIT

After arriving in the Six Counties the 1988 shipment was split between three pro-British death squads, the UVF, UDA and Ulster Resistance (set up in the early 1980s with the blessing of the DUP). Almost immediately the UDA third was captured when two cars on their way to Belfast were stopped and searched in Portadown in North Armagh.

The remainder of the arms enabled the death squads to significantly increase their terror campaign against the nationalist community. In 1985, for instance the UVF had killed three people in the Six Counties but since they received the South African arms they have killed more than 200 nationalists.

This latest seizure also begs several other questions: was it the fact that the UVF had secured two tons of semtex, thus giving them the capacity to mount bombing attacks on nationalist areas in the Six Counties and, more especially, in the 26 Counties, the factor which persuaded the British to intercept the shipment? Or was the whole exercise simply designed to instil terror in the nationalist community and make it more amenable to a new internal "solution" with the British presence in Ireland remaining?

And how many shipments have made their way successfully into the hands of the UVF and UDA with British connivance?



• The captured arms found on the Polish MV *Inowroclaw*.

UDA/UFF kill nationalist at workplace

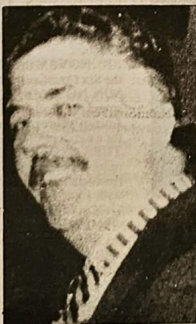
THE UDA/UFF ambushed and shot dead another innocent nationalist as he left his workplace in Dundonald, East Belfast shortly after midnight on November 30. Seán Hagan (47), a native of West Belfast was reversing his car out of the carpark at the European Components seat-belt factory on the Newtownards Road at 12.35am when the pro-British death squad shot him several times. He died at the scene despite attempts by his work colleagues to revive him.

A father of five children who lived in Horn Drive, Lenadoon, Seán Hagan is the first person to be killed in the Six Occupied Counties in four weeks. He had worked in European Components for ten years.

On October 12 last another nationalist workman in East Belfast, Joseph Reynolds, was killed and five colleagues were wounded when the UVF fired on his van as he drove to the Shirts factory in the Harbour industrial estate.

In a carbon copy of a previous attack in which his son died, the home of Provisional Sinn Féin Belfast councillor Bobby Lavery was raked with gunfire on the night of November 30. No one was injured.

The UVF death squad were responsible for a firebomb attack on a business premises in Antrim town on Sunday night, November 21. They claimed



• Seán Hagan

they had targeted the MDF Engineering works in the Newpark industrial estate in the town, which is owned by nationalists. However the loyalists missed their target and the premises of a nearby small business was destroyed in the blaze instead.

British soldier shoots woman at checkpoint

A 42-year-old woman was shot and seriously injured by a British soldier as she sat in a car at a checkpoint in Co Tyrone on Sunday night, November 7. At 7pm the woman, Celine McCloskey was in the passenger seat of a car being driven by a friend. Four children were also in the vehicle which was waved through the checkpoint when a soldier from the Royal Irish regiment (RIR, formerly the UDR) fired the shots which struck the woman from behind causing severe chest injuries.

The British checkpoint is at Loughmacrory, near the nationalist town of Carrickmore, and a few miles from Omagh. The soldier who shot the woman has not been suspended from duty and remains on patrol in the area.

Three of the four children in the car were injured by flying

glass. A nine-year-old girl received a cut to her head and her seven-year-old brother suffered a gash to the stomach. The British army has said the shooting was "accidental" and expressed its "regret" over the incident.

Calls have been made by local people for an independent

public inquiry into the shooting, but these are usually ignored by the British. The paramilitary RUC said the woman was totally innocent. Celine McCloskey is described as "ill but stable" in the Tyrone County Hospital in Omagh.

In February 1988 a British soldier at the Aghnacloy Border

checkpoint in Tyrone shot dead a passing nationalist, Aidan McAnespie, who was on his way to play in a GAA football match. The soldier said his hand "slipped" on the trigger of his machine-gun. Similarly in this latest incident claims of the soldier "stumbling" and firing are being made.



• RIR (former UDR) British soldiers - shot woman at checkpoint

BLIAINNA GAEILGE 1893-1993 Nollaig

3 NOLLAIG, AOINE. Léacht: An tAthair Pádraig Ó Duinnín. Óstán Russell Court, Sráid Fhearchair, BAC 2, 8pm.
11 NOLLAIG, SATHARN. Lá Mór Ógúis. Baile Átha Cliath.
18 NOLLAIG, SATHARN. Seimineár agus ball óga an Chonartha. Béal Feirste. Cead cainte ag daoine faoi aois a 30: An Feachta atá Romhainn.
31 NOLLAIG, AOINE. Deireadh Oifigiúil le Bliain na Gaeilge 1993. Oíche Cheoil. Fáilítí i gClub an Chonartha, 6 Sráid Fhearchair, BAC 2 ag tosú ag 11 pm.

Eolas breise faoi Chonradh na Gaeilge agus Chomradh an Chéid ar fáil ó:

Conradh na Gaeilge

Imeachtaí

**CHARLIE KERINS
COMMEMORATION**
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3
ASSEMBLY
DENNY STREET
TRALEE
8.30pm
Speaker:
Tom O'Sullivan

**LIAM MELLOWS
COMMEMORATION**
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5
CASTLETOWN
COWFORD

**SOCIAL IN AID OF
PRISONERS
DEPENDANTS**
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10
PERCY FRENCH
HOTEL
STROKESTOWN
Commencing 10pm
Táille: £3

AGMs
COMHAIRLE LAIGHEAN
Saturday, December 4
COMHAIRLE ULADH
Sunday, December 5
**COMHAIRLE na
MUMHAN**
Sunday, December 5
**COMHAIRLE
CHONNACHT**
Sunday, December 12

**DÁITHÍ Ó CONAILL
3RD ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATION**
SATURDAY, JANUARY 1
Glasnevin Cemetery
Assemble Main Gates
1pm
Speaker: Pádraig Ó
Baoghíll

DÍLSEACHT

The publicity department of Republican Sinn Féin plans to publish a booklet in the very near future provisionally entitled *Dílseacht, The Story of Tom Maguire and the Second All-Ireland Dáil in memory of Tom Maguire and to explain how the 32-County Republic was suppressed, betrayed and abandoned.*

Donations towards the cost of publishing this worthwhile commemorative booklet would be greatly appreciated. All contributions should be sent to Ard Oifig, Oifig Éire Nua, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7. Donations will be gratefully acknowledged.

Local cut-backs result in tenders going to Europe

SHOCK! Horror! a Dublin radio DJ, who normally keeps his well-paid slot on late night radio by inviting audience pontification on provocative subjects and then trivialises anything of substance, found Dutch men at work on the street of the city one night recently.

Where, one might ask, was the DJ and his radio station when the entire Establishment media were extolling the virtues of joining the EEC and later confounding their folly by voting again for the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty which had led directly to the situation now taking place in Dublin and elsewhere.

Jobs at home and markets abroad was the slogan parroted by the same media people as the gullible trooped to the polling booths, ignoring the advice of Republicans and others who had

taken the trouble to read the real intent behind the Treaty of Rome and the various other legal implications designed to rob the national integrity and resources of the Irish people.

Tenders put out for contract by local authorities worth over £3.89 million must now be advertised throughout the EC and the Dutchmen on the streets of Dublin could counter that Irishmen could also get contracts in Amsterdam.

RUN DOWN
Local authorities in Holland of course have not run

down their services and sacked their employees so maintenance work doesn't have to go out to tender.

Maurice Doyle, Governor of the Central Bank, probably had this in mind when he stated that the unemployed were not going out to look for work.

No doubt he meant they should be seeking the menial jobs not taken up by the more affluent citizens of Germany, Holland and France etc.

As long as Dublin Corporation and County Council proceed with privatisation by the back door in running down services by refusing to replace worn-out plant and embarking on bouts of redundancy then there will be plenty of contracts to line the pockets of foreign contractors.

Republican Sinn Féin a political organisation

In a media statement issued on November 22 Republican Sinn Féin said:

"Our attention has been drawn to newspaper reports dated November 12 of a case at the Special Court in Green Street, Dublin. In these it was stated that at the proceedings a prisoner

had claimed that he had been given ammunition and grenade cases by Republican Sinn Féin. This is not so.

"While upholding at all times the right of the Irish people to resist British rule in Ireland in a controlled and disciplined manner, Republican Sinn Féin wishes to point out that it is and has always been a political organisation. It is not and never has been a military force and does not have control of war material.

"Because of the pressures associated with our annual Ard-Fheis on the week-end of November 13 and 14 this matter escaped our attention at the time," the statement concluded.

Poverty bias in Six Counties

A NEWLY-PUBLISHED family expenditure survey has revealed that people in the Six Occupied Counties are 22% less well-off on 1989-92 based on a randomly-selected sample for households, found that the average gross weekly income in the Six Counties was £281.25 compared to an average in Britain of £342.93.

Commenting on the fact that the gap in income has narrowed by 16% in the past four years Eileen Evason of the Anti-Poverty Network said rather than people in the North becoming richer, instead people in Britain were getting poorer.

The built-in discrimination of the sectarian Six-County state is revealed in the fact that the average gross weekly income for Protestant households was ten per cent higher than the average income for Catholic households.

Meanwhile the latest British Census Report (1991) revealed that more than half of the unemployed in the Six Counties are Catholics, while they make up only 43% of the population.

It also states that most Catholics work at junior non-manual jobs and are also heavily represented in skilled trades and clerical positions. Less than one-four of managers in big business, central and local government are Catholics.

GREYSTEEL ACCUSED SHOUT 'UP THE UFF'

A total of five loyalists have been charged in the past week in connection with the UDA/UFF death squad massacre of seven people in the Rising Sun pub in the village of Greysteel, Co Derry on October 30 last. Three men were charged with the seven murders at Limavady Court on Monday, October 8. They were also charged with membership of the UFF (the cover name for the UDA "banned" by the British in the Six Counties in August 1992) and with possession of an assault rifle, a nine millimetre pistol, and a sawn-off shotgun.

The rifle and the pistol are almost certainly part of the large shipment of arms from South Africa which arrived in the Six Counties in January 1988 for the pro-British death squads with the knowledge and connivance of the British.

There were angry scenes as the three were led in and out of the courthouse. A crowd of 300 people shouted abuse and a small group of about six people voiced

support for them. One woman holding a small child in her arms shouted "Well done boys! You did a good job. You should have got more of them".

One of the three, Robert Knight (24) an unemployed roofer from Maccoquin, Co Derry was also charged with the murders of four nationalist building workers in Casterlock, Co Derry on March 25 last. The two charged with him are

Geoffrey Deeney (22) and Stephen Irwin (20) both from 4 Bonds Place in the Waterside area of Derry city. They were remanded in custody to Belfast's Crumlin Road jail until November 26.

POPPIES

The three wore poppies and refused to have blankets placed over their heads as they were led into and out of the courthouse. Robert Knight roared "Up the UFF" back at the crowd as he was put in a van after the 20-minute hearing.

Earlier two other men faced charges of murder and withholding of information in connection with the Greysteel massacre. On Friday, November 5 Brian McNeill (26) from the Waterside area of Derry was charged in Limavady with the seven murders.

FOR THE RECORD

THURS. OCTOBER 29: Two nationalist brothers, Rory (18) and Gerard (28) Cairns were shot dead at their home near Waringstown, Co Down by the loyalist death squad the UVF.

SUN. OCTOBER 30: Six nationalists and a former UDR man were shot dead and eleven injured by the British-backed UDA/UFF loyalist death squad in an attack on the Rising Sun bar in Greysteel, Co Derry.

Youghal Carpet warned that it may shut down its plant at Killaclough, Co Cork with the loss of 326 jobs if the trade unions do not agree to a cost-cutting plan immediately.

MON. NOVEMBER 1: The Maastricht Treaty on European Union came into force.

THURS. NOVEMBER 4: Irish Rail are to lay off 200 seasonal workers in two weeks time.

FRI. NOVEMBER 5: The British-controlled loyalist death squad, the UVF sent a parcel bomb to a taxi company in North Belfast but the device was discovered in the main postal sorting office and defused.

The number of jobsless in the 26 Counties is 294,000.

SAT. NOVEMBER 6: The Fianna Fáil Ard-Fheis voted in favour of a review of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

SUN. NOVEMBER 7: Celine McCloskey (42) was shot and seriously injured by a British soldier of the Royal Irish Regiment as she sat in the passenger seat of a car at a British checkpoint in Loughmacrory, near Carrickmore, Co Tyrone.

MON. NOVEMBER 8: Katie B'Keaney, Veteran Republican and niece of executed 1916 leader



● Loyalist arms haul discovered in north England port on November 24. Sean Mac Diarmada, died at her home in Killybegher, Co Leitrim.

Two British soldiers of the Royal Marines went on trial in Belfast charged with murdering 20-year-old Pargal Carahar as he and his brother passed through a checkpoint in Cullyhanna, Co Armagh on December 30, 1990.

Three men were charged with the UDA/UFF murders of seven people at the Rising Sun pub in Greysteel, Co Derry on October 30 last, bringing the total charged to five.

TUES. NOVEMBER 9: De Beers are to let another 90 workers go at their plant in Shannon, Co Clare.

WED. NOVEMBER 10: 22 jobs are to go at Thermo King in Galway.

De Beers warned that they can only guarantee the remaining 560 jobs at their Shannon-

based industrial diamond-manufacturing operation for another 12 months.

Becton Dickinson, the US-owned surgical equipment manufacturer based at Drogheda is to shed 24 jobs.

Youth unemployment in Ireland at 26.9% is well above the average in other EC states, according to figures released by the European Commission.

SAT. NOVEMBER 13: The 89th Ard Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin began in Dublin.

SUN. NOVEMBER 14: A UVF attempt to kill a nationalist man in Parkhall Road, Antrim town was foiled when his gun jammed.

MON. NOVEMBER 15: A nationalist couple and their two children aged one and two have fled their home following a petrol-bomb attack in the predominantly-loyalist Park Avenue estate in Dungannon, Co Tyrone.

183 jobs are to go at US-owned industrial giant Dupont as it Mayday plant on the outskirts of Derry city.

TUES. NOVEMBER 16: A pro-British death squad attacked the home of an elderly nationalist couple in Whitehouse Park, Newtownabbey at about 7pm. The man returned fire with his personal weapon and the loyalist gunman fled, having wounded the couple's German shepherd dog.

Neodata Services Ltd announced that it is to relocate its core mail marketing business from Limerick to Boulder, Colorado, USA over the next 12 to 15 months with the loss of nearly 400 jobs.

FRI. NOVEMBER 19: The total out of work in the Six Counties is 104,000.

SUN. NOVEMBER 21: The UVF loyalist death squad firebombed MDF Engineering works in Antrim's Newpark industrial estate in mistake for a nationalist-owned firm next door.

TUES. NOVEMBER 23: The number of redundancies notified to the end of October reached an almost record level at 15,514, compared with 14,478 for the same period in 1992.

It was announced that Teitlitz na Gaeltige will start broadcasting from January 1995.

The British newspaper, the *Sun*, lost an appeal in the Dublin Supreme Court and must pay £90,000 in libel damages to an Irish barrister over the 1988 issue into the shoot-to-kill of three Irish citizens in Gibraltar.

WED. NOVEMBER 24: A massive arms consignment, which included 300 assault rifles and two tons of explosives, intended for the UVF loyalist death squad was intercepted by British police at Teesport, Cleveland, in England.

The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill was passed in Leinster House.

THURS. NOVEMBER 25: A six-inch pipe bomb, claimed to have been planted by loyalists in a Telecom inspection chamber beside Store Street police station on September 18, was discovered and made safe.

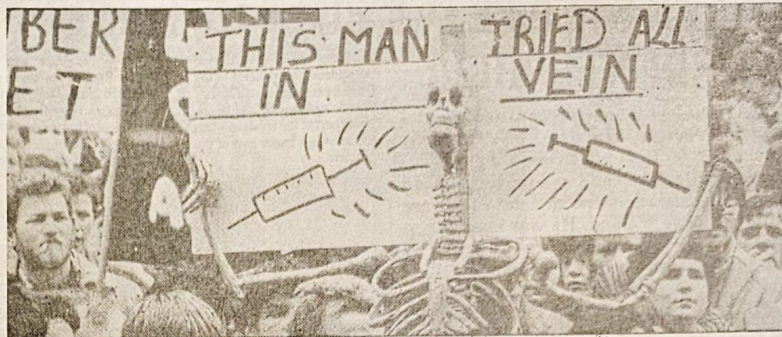
DRUGS EPIDEMIC RAGES THROUGH DUBLIN

A DRUGS epidemic is sweeping Dublin and a containment policy by the 26-County establishment is causing drug deaths and HIV infection to be confined mostly to Dublin's large working-class estates and inner-city flat complexes already riddled by massive unemployment caused directly by an uncaring government.

No real effort has been made by the 26-County police in these areas to root out the major Drug Barons who are well-known to the police and, as they say, "even to the dogs in the street". The result is a

drugs crisis of unprecedented proportions, worse than the one experienced in the city in the early eighties.

The official position on the drug problem seems to be that as long as the problem stays in



run-down, poverty-stricken areas with very little influence and political clout and doesn't branch out to the comfortable middle class suburbs is not really a problem!

The bureaucracy sitting in the plush surroundings of Leinster House, responsible for the complete failure to tackle the drug epidemic, should be made to come face-to-face with the hundreds of mothers who have lost sons and daughters to the drug pushers' evil trade and let them witness firsthand young people mainly from

disadvantaged backgrounds dying from AIDS in what should be the prime of their lives.

Official figures for drug addiction and HIV due to intravenous drug abuse are only the tip of the iceberg. We are looking at a scenario of whole communities of young people being wiped out by the failure and unwillingness of the 26-County establishment to tackle the problem in any meaningful way.

ADDICT

Sandra Kelly is a 29-year-old mother of four from

Dublin's inner city. She is a drug addict and HIV Positive. She says up to 30 of her friends have died from drugs. "Fourteen-year-olds are being used to run errands for the pushers, and these young kids are being paid in drugs to become addicts themselves," she told SAOIRSE.

Sandra's brother Patrick has died from AIDS. Patrick Dunne, another addict, says "the response by the State is pathetic to the point of disinterest".

John from Ballymun

claims there are "300 hard drug users on the Ballymun estate alone and yet they won't even provide a local clinic for them".

People who in the past have tried to respond to the problem on their own doorsteps by confronting local pushers (the police having failed in this regard) find themselves immediately under the scrutiny of the Special Branch (political police) who seem to have no lack of resources when the apathy of the State's response is questioned by the actions of people who don't want their kids to end up heroin addicts.

Rosemount residents are human shields for Brits

LOCAL residents in the Rosemount area of Derry city are continuing their campaign of protest against the 80-foot British Crown Forces watchtower which has been literally dominating their lives for the past year.

The massive spy-post is literally only yards from their back doors and was erected almost overnight without warning or consultation with the Rosemount residents. They insist they are being used as human shields in order to give the Brits protection against attack — "Who's protecting who?" reads their banner.

The watchtower is bathed in bright light at night which, together with the helicopters

flying in and out, keep the local people awake and during the day the British soldiers there chase children away from their local play-area. Claims of "enhanced neighbourhood policing" by the RUC in Derry are rejected by the Rosemount Tenants Association who state that the spy-post is manned by British soldiers.

The structure is reckoned to contain a hi-tech British army listening post which emits harmful radiation like the numerous watchtowers in South

Armagh. The residents have written to the Friends of the Earth and the British Medical Association asking them to carry out tests to confirm the presence of radiation which, in the opinion of many doctors, can cause cancer.

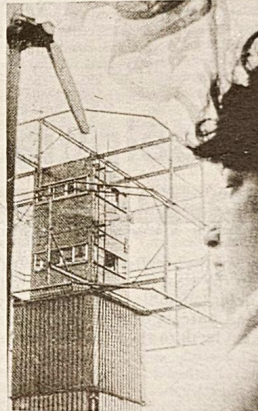
EMPHATIC

Local resident, Bridget Deeney is emphatic about the purpose of the post: "This tower isn't there for our protection — we are being used as hostages to protect the military. We're afraid in the house and afraid to leave the place. The children too, they have difficulty in concentrating with their homework, and they

have no play areas left. Our fears rub off on them no matter how hard you try to avoid that. They grow up quick here because the war is all around them.

"The housing executive offered to put wire mesh on our windows to help in case the place is attacked but that would make us feel even more like prisoners in our own homes. We're going to keep up this campaign until it is removed," Bridget Deeney promised.

The people of Rosemount are confident however that they were there before the watchtower came and they will remain long after it is gone.



• British army watchtower in Derry.

Harassment of young people in Stewartstown

BRITISH Crown Forces assaults and systematic harassment of nationalists, and in particular young people, in the village of Stewartstown, Co Tyrone has increased to a fever pitch in recent weeks. During the weekend of Poppy Day/Remembrance Sunday from November 12-16 British army and RUC patrols operated around the clock in the area, resulting in numerous beatings, a Belfast press conference organised by local residents and the Community for Justice group was told on November 24.

The residents travelled to the press conference to expose the harassment and Fr Joe McVeigh of the Community for Justice group launched a file on incidents in the past year in Stewartstown. At the same time numerous attempts have also been made by the Crown Forces

to recruit informers.

The situation was said to be similar to that in nearby Coalisland in May 1992 when British paratroopers shot several local people on the streets and attacked several pubs in the town. Stewartstown woman Eileen Horstfold

described how her 19-year-old son was hit in the stomach with the butt of a rifle by British soldiers who said they were "better than the paras".

Séamas O'Donnell kept a diary of his harassment, which revealed that between July 20 and November 14 this year he was stopped 145 times by the British Crown Forces. On September 24 he was stopped seven times, often within intervals of 15 minutes.

UNCONSCIOUS

He was taken to hospital on November 13 after being knocked unconscious by British soldiers, suffering a head wound when he struck the pavement.

The residents said that the RUC will not investigate abuse and harassment committed by their own members and asked "who do we turn to?" Fr McVeigh said that nationalists in towns throughout Tyrone were suffering similar harassment in what was a "concerted campaign". He added: "I am calling on the church leaders to speak out. They have a duty to speak and I think it is a serious neglect of their duty if they do not".

Copies of the harassment file were being sent to Amnesty International, the Papal Nuncio in Dublin, Human Rights groups and the Dublin administration, he said.

UVF attack in Antrim


A RANDOM assassination attempt on a nationalist man in Antrim town failed on Sunday night, November 14 when the UVF gunman's weapon jammed. The pro-British death squad attack happened around 6pm when a lone gunman pushed past an elderly woman in a house on Parkhall Road, Antrim and pointed a gun at the woman's son. The gun jammed however and the UVF man escaped on foot into the nearby Steeple housing estate.

Unionists ban on Irish remains

DESPITE the fact that 29,000 people in Belfast could speak the Irish language according to the 1991 Census, Unionist councillors have voted down a motion (November 8) seeking to remove the bans on the language being used in the City Council chamber and on Irish versions of council forms. Two of the 26-strong Unionist majority on the council — Chris McGimpsey and Ian Adamson — are actually members of the British-sponsored Ultaich Trust, set up to "promote the study of Irish and traditional culture" in the Six Counties!

UVF sends parcel bomb to taxi firm


THE pro-British death squad, the UVF, posted a parcel bomb in a chocolate box to a taxi company in North Belfast on Friday, November 5 but the device was discovered in the main postal sorting office in the city that night. Posted in a loyalist area of West Belfast the parcel bomb contained several ounces of explosives and would have killed or seriously injured anyone who opened the tin. The UVF said they were targeting an employee of the taxi firm. One hundred staff were evacuated from the Tomb Street postal sorting office shortly after the parcel was discovered by a postal worker



CHRISTMAS MORNING

Cabhair

REMEMBER THE PRISONERS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS



Cabhair

Swim sponsorship cards are available from
41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

December is Prisoners Month
All Cumainn are reminded to do your Christmas Collection for the Prisoners and return cash to:
CABHAIR, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7

SPONSORED SWIM
Inchicore
Dublin
opposite Blackhorse Inn — 12 noon sharp

THREE-STEP PEACE PLAN OUTLINED AT EDENTUBBER

SPEAKING at a commemoration on the Louth/Armagh Border on Sunday, November 7, Republican Sinn Féin Vice-President Des Long outlined the Republican Movement's three steps to a lasting peace with justice in Ireland. He was speaking at the Memorial in Edentubber, Co Louth at the spot where five IRA Volunteers — Paul Smith (Armagh), Oliver Craven (Newry), George Keegan and Patrick Parle (Wexford) and Michael Waters (Edentubber) were killed in an accidental explosion 35 years ago.

A large crowd assembled at the Border Inn and marched to the hillside Edentubber memorial. The parade was led by Paddy Murphy who carried the National Flag and the proceedings were chaired by Eamon Larkin who welcomed everybody especially those who had travelled long distances. Bronagh McCarthy, a relative of Michael Waters, laid a wreath.

In introducing Des Long Eamon said it was ironic that 23 years ago, in 1970, when Des last spoke in Edentubber, people were then defecting from the Republican path, just as they were now. "They went astray then and they have gone astray now," said Eamon.

Des Long, in his oration, said that Republicans must reaffirm the three steps of the Republican Movement for peace, justice and freedom: (1) a public British declaration of intention to leave Ireland; (2) a New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves and (3) a general amnesty for all political prisoners. The Unionist population would have nothing to fear in the New Ireland as advocated by faithful Republicans.

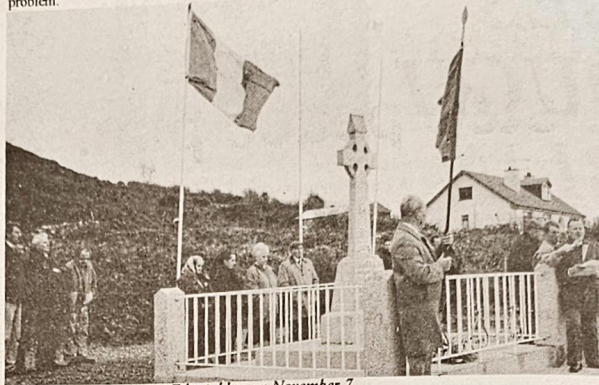
"Our ÉIRE NUA proposals would vest real power in their hands and control of their lives in a nine-county Ulster with maximum devolution within it.

He added "The Hume-Adams peace talks are doomed

to failure because (1) they do not address the question of the British presence here; (2) they now accept the 26 Counties as being part of the solution when in fact it is a major part of the problem.

"Once you have strayed from the Republican ideal and recognised the 26-County state you have accepted the Government of Ireland Act 1920. This is the Act which partitioned our country and set up the two

want to be politicians must be aware of the lessons of history. "As long as there is a British presence in this country, that presence will be opposed and if this British presence is an armed one therefore it follows that its opposition will also be armed. The way forward to peace with justice in this country is for the British to withdraw and to leave



● Des Long speaking at Edentubber on November 7.

PATH

"I would point out to those who were led from the Republican path by Mr Adams and company that they are going nowhere and I would further say that the Hume-Adams talks will not achieve peace in this country because it does not tackle the problem from a Republican viewpoint.

statelets. Therefore logic dictates you have accepted partition.

"I would call on those who were fooled or misled to re-think their position and put themselves on the Republican road. In the 23 years since I last spoke here, some would have us believe that the struggle is nearing an end. Unfortunately this is not so... and those who

the Irish people acting as a unit to determine their own future. "We say to the British: Go now and leave us in peace," he concluded.

The parade then reformed and marched back to the Border Inn where members of the Glens of Antrim Pipe Band played Amhrán na bhFiann to conclude the ceremony.

Philadelphia to pass MacBride compliance law

SUPPORTERS of the MacBride Principles of fair employment in the USA are predicting that the City Council of Philadelphia will shortly ratify the new MacBride Contract Compliance ordinance which gives real teeth to the anti-discrimination campaign.

At a recent hearing before the Finance Committee of the City Council more than 20 supporters of the MacBride Principles made submissions as against one solitary opponent. The British government did not testify to an oral hearing on the MacBride Principles for the first time since 1964, making a written submission instead.

Fr Seán McManus, President of the Irish National Caucus, said that among those testifying for the second phase of the MacBride campaign were Robert W O'Donnell, Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and Jonathan Sidell, Comptroller of Philadelphia. The woman who spoke against it "identified herself as 'a Bible Protestant who believed in liberty', said she supported the British Crown because it was pledged to the Protestant succession," McManus said.

Philadelphia passed the MacBride Investment Bill in 1987 which directed that the city's pension funds could only be invested in companies that implement the MacBride Principles. The new Contract Compliance Bill would mean, if passed, that no-one doing business in the Six Occupied Counties of Ireland could get a contract with the City of Philadelphia unless it was in compliance with the MacBride Principles.

Fr McManus pledged to intensify the MacBride

campaign in the USA, which he described as the "cutting edge of American pressure for justice" in the Six Counties.

THE MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES

1. Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the workforce including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
2. Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.
3. The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.
4. All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groupings.
5. Layoff, recall and termination procedures should not, in practice, favour particular religious groupings.
6. The abolition of job reservations, apprenticeship restrictions and the differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religion or ethnic origin.
7. The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of the existing programmes and the creation of new programmes to train, upgrade and improve the skills of minority employees.
8. The establishment of procedures to assess, identify and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
9. The appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of timetables to carry out affirmative action principles.

Charlie Kerins — 50th Anniversary

A COMMITTEE was formed in Tralee on Sunday, November 21 last to mark the 50th anniversary next year of the execution by the 26-County state of Charlie Kerins, IRA Chief-of-Staff on December 1, 1944. The committee decided the anniversary will be marked in a fitting manner on Sunday, December 4, 1994 and a commemorative booklet will also be published.

At the meeting was Elsie Kerins-O'Connor, sister of Charlie Kerins, who is herself a staunch Republican and supporter of Republican Sinn Féin. The meeting was presided over by Domhnall O'Neill, a brother of Maurice O'Neill, Cahersiveen, who was executed by the de Valera regime in November 1942.

Committee officers elected were Cathaoirleach John Mangan, Rúnaí Matt Leen, Cisteoirí Pat Quirke, Dan O'Brien. The committee asked that any letters, photos or historical material concerning Charlie Kerins be forwarded to George Rice, Balclahane, Tralee. All items will be returned safely.

Easter Lily fines

JUSTICE Humphrey Kelleher imposed fines on six members of Republican Sinn Féin from Cahersiveen on seven charges of selling Easter Lilies in the town on April 10 and 11.

Thomas O'Sullivan, Teeraha; Eugene O'Neill, Church Street; James O'Shea, St Joseph's Terrace and James Coffey, Kippagh were each fined £50 for selling Easter Lilies at O'Connell Street, Cahersiveen on April 10.

Michael O'Sullivan, Newmarket Street and David O'Neill, Letter were both fined £50 for selling Easter Lilies at Church Street, Cahersiveen on April 10.

James O'Shea, St Joseph's Terrace was also fined £50.

NATIONAL DRAW RESULTS

- 1st prize: Car
Ticket No 1387 - K Malone, Quebec
c/o Tom Malone, Nenagh
- 2nd Prize: Irish Holiday for two
Ticket No 44 - c/o P Pearaill Cumann, Wexford
- 3rd Prize - £250
Ticket No 1468 - Lanesboro, Co Roscommon
winner

The Organising Committee wishes to thank all our patrons, both at home, in England, Scotland and in the USA whose generous support helped make the National Draw such a success.

Brits
raid
94
homes
in
24
hours

BRITISH Crown Forces in West Belfast raided 94 homes in one 24-hour period recently, with nine out of ten of the raids taking place in nationalist areas.

Extensive damage was caused to homes during the raids with floors being dug in downstairs holes, all the window sills from their frames, heating radiators pulled out from the walls, kitchen units smashed and holes bored in upstairs walls.

A cover-story in the local newspaper *Andersonstown News* (October 22) detailed the 'raids blitz' and an accompanying photograph shows one of the victims, Patricia Russell, a young mother from Springfield, standing in a huge hole almost three feet deep which was dug in her floor by the Brits.

A large force of British army and paramilitary RUC sledgehammered down her front door at 8.30am and spent four hours damaging her small terraced home in Elswick Street. Nothing was found. British army "civilian representatives" are said to be completely unable to cope with the claims by local people for compensation for the damage caused by the occupying forces. Locals expect lengthy delays in processing their claims and will be left to pick themselves up as best they can amidst their wrecked homes.

The British Crown Forces have shown themselves once again as having "no right but might" in Ireland.

British Withdrawal Essential - 89ú Ard-Fheis 1993

Ard-Fheis meets amid 'rapidly developing situation', backs three-step peace plan

OVER 200 delegates and visitors attended the 89th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin in Lucan, Co Dublin on the weekend of November 13-14, a substantial increase on the attendance the previous year. The delegates were aware as they assembled that, as President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh put it, they were meeting "at the time of a rapidly developing situation but not unfortunately in the direction of a British withdrawal and a completely new Ireland".

FOR the fourth year in succession the Ard-Fheis broke up into workshops on Saturday morning and afternoon to consider the resolutions in a more informal and participatory fashion. The workshop also managed to composite resolutions of a similar nature with the permission of the proposers. The plenary session of the Ard-Fheis which convened on Saturday evening was taken up with these resolutions dealing with political policy. A composited resolution was put forward from the workshops, encompassing eight separate motions from different cumainn, which called for a true peace process in Ireland. The composited resolution, which was adopted by the Ard-Fheis, read as follows:

That the Ard-Fheis rejects the idea of joint authority for the Six Occupied Counties. We reaffirm our allegiance to the Proclamation of 1916 and the Declaration of Independence as ratified by the First Dáil. We will accept nothing else than complete separation from England and reiterate our support for the struggle to break the British/English connection and declare that the only way to true peace is as follows: (1) A British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland; (2) The release of all political prisoners; and (3) The upholding of the right of the people of all Ireland to self-determination.

Two resolutions from Dublin and Armagh cumainn were also composited and called for the Ard-Fheis to uphold "the right of the people of Ireland to use whatever means are necessary, including the use of arms in a controlled and disciplined manner, to remove the British Forces of Occupation from Irish soil, and to bring about the establishment of national freedom, self-determination and justice".

FLANNERY

The Ard-Fheis unanimously approved an Ard-Chomhairle resolution that Michael Flannery of New York IRA veteran and life-long Irish-American activist succeed the late Comdt-General Tom Maguire as Patron of Republican Sinn Féin. A native of North Tipperary, Michael Flannery was elected Grand Marshal of the St Patrick's Day Parade in New York City in 1983.

Decentralised local government and regional government in the four provinces as outlined in EIRENUA — and the social and economic policy of SAOL NUA must be actively promoted by all members, a resolution from Comhairle Uladh stated. Both this and another resolution pledging support for Glór na Deoraí in its efforts to obtain votes for Irish emigrants were passed.

The corrosive nature of repressive legislation in the Six Counties on the justice system in the 26 Counties was recognised in a resolution which noted the Ard-Fheis' opposition to the use of the Public Order Act in the north and condemned those who co-operated with this oppressive legislation. The resolution also pledged opposition to the similar Public Order Bill being introduced by the 26-County state to "suppress and contain any forms of protest and dissent".

Support was heard for the Cloughogue residents on the Dublin Road, Newry who are fighting for the removal of the massive British check-point there. An amended Bearna Uladh resolution called for "an independent public inquiry by the World Health Organisation or similar body into the health hazards emanating from these installations. It was adopted as was a motion from Kildare Comhairle Ceantair endorsing the socialist principles of James Connolly and the economic empowerment of the people of Ireland.

The Liam Mellows Cumann, Baile Átha Cliath, succeeded in having a resolution passed condemning the "double standards and selectivity of the British-sponsored so-called peace-groups ie Peace Train, FATT and Peace '93."

Over 800 friends paid tribute to him at a special function in Queens in May last year sponsored by a large number of Irish-American organisations.

Resolutions from Bearna Uladh, South Armagh and Comhairle Laighean supporting the GAA's ban on British Crown Forces members joining the Association were passed. The resolutions demanded the removal of the British Occupying Forces from Crossmaglen Rangers GAA grounds and an end to the harassment of GAA matches, members and supporters. The Ard-Fheis added a vote of congratulations to the Derry team on winning the Sam Maguire.

There was criticism of the GAA at the same time for their "hypocrisy" in inviting the RUC Chief Constable and the British ambassador to Croke park for the All-Ireland final.

A successful resolution from the Ard-Chomhairle called for an immediate end to Section 31 "the most oppressive form of censorship in the 26 Counties" and also demanded the end of the British broadcasting ban. Both edicts prevent members of Republican Sinn Féin from being heard on the airwaves in the 32 Counties.



• Workshop session at the 1993 Ard-Fheis in Lucan, Co Dublin.

OPPOSING

Debate centred on two opposing motions in relation to SAOIRSE, one from the Ard-Chomhairle calling for the paper to be described as "The Organ of Irish Republicanism" and another from the Wolfe Tone Cumann, Tallaght asking for it to be called "The Official organ of the Republican Movement". After alively discussion the former wording was passed and the latter fell.

A Galway Comhairle Ceantair resolution calling for the Constituent Assembly which Dáithí Ó Conaill envisaged to be established immediately was passed. A motion from the Ard-Chomhairle condemning the rise of fascism in Europe was amended by the Ard-Fheis to include opposition to all forms of Fascism, Racism "and the new Imperialism as represented by the Maastricht Treaty".

Comhairle Ceantair Ros Comáin successfully proposed the resolution "That we uphold the rights of minorities".

IN THE section on Organisation the Ard-Fheis agreed to appoint an assistant to the Editor/Publicity Officer and to conclude the education programme for new members for the coming year. And the Activities/Campaigns resolutions centred around anti-Section 31 protests, the measure being described in an amended resolution from Comhairle Ceantair Átha Cliath as causing "political ignorance, cowardice and stagnation amongst people in the 32 Counties".

A motion from the same body called for the *Brits Out Peace* In campaign to be highlighted. It was also passed.

The workshop on Prisoners had been addressed by some recently-released prisoners who emphasised the need for close and continued communication with those in jail. This was never more important than in the current political situation, the fact that 'unity by consent' would not achieve the Republic was the message that should be going into the prisons. Resolutions from Armagh and Dublin promised continued support for "all Republican prisoners of war at home and abroad", called for their release and for people to be delegated to maintain communication with them.

FRETELIN

An Ard-Chomhairle motion was passed in this section also sending

"greetings and solidarity to Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Fretilin movement fighting Indonesian colonialism and occupation in East Timor since 1973, sentenced to life imprisonment last May when he refused to recognise the competence and jurisdiction of the Indonesian court and would not appeal against spending the rest of his natural life in prison."

THE promotion of worker/ownership and its particular relevance in the event of proposed closures of firms was a key part of a composited resolution in the Social and Economic policy section from Comhairle Cúige Laighean and Cumann Brughá Sabhata, Limerick Worker/ownership should be encouraged for the unemployed and active support was pledged for the right of all workers to join a trade union and for a negotiated living wage. Mary Ward, incoming Vice-President called for solidarity greetings to be sent from the Ard-Fheis to the workers at Pat the Baker in Ballyfermot and Nolans of Westford who have been on strike for several months. A second Limerick motion was carried condemning the exploitation by employers of workers for their own gain, including those on FAS and ACE schemes.

TRAVELLERS

Two motions from the Anne Devlin Cumann, Dublin and the Ard-Chomhairle were composited at the workshop and passed to read: "That we support the rights of the travelling people to be treated equally and we condemn any attacks or boycotts on travellers by the settled community." Vice-President Des Long said that blaming a whole group for the actions of a few could be defined as racism. He said there was a denial at an institutional level of the fact that Travellers have a distinctive identity. The resolution was carried. Three resolutions from Comhairle Cúige Chonnacht were composited and put to the floor as follows "We demand that public money be provided for revitalising the West, for the provision of roads, railways and the promotion of small industry." Speaking to the motion Seán Ó Brádaigh from the Cathal Brugha Cumann, Dún Laoghaire, said that it was up to Republican Sinn Féin to provide an alternative and give a lead to people as we have always taken a principled stand. The trade unions cannot be relied on to do this, he said.



• An immediate end to Section 31 called for.

British Withdrawal Essential - 89ú Ard-Fheis 1993

The Irish people must be a

AT 12 noon on Sunday, November 15 an t-Uachtarán Ruairí Ó Brádaigh rose to address the 200 delegates assembled at the 89th Ard-Fheis of Republican Sinn Féin. The following is an edited version of his speech:

A Chathaoirleach, a theachtai, is a cháirdé go léir, Fearaim céad míle fáilte romhaibh ar fad ag an Ard-Fheis seo, an 89ú ceann de chuid Shinn Féin. You are all very welcome to the 89th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin. We meet at the time of a rapidly developing situation but not unfortunately in the direction of a British withdrawal and a completely new Ireland.

What is currently being sought by those in high places - and even by our former comrades - is merely a reinforcing of British rule in Ireland by giving it more up-to-date structures and arrangements more acceptable on the international scene.

But first it is necessary to review the year since last we met in national convention. At the outset let us welcome home from British jails in Ireland some of our prisoners. We greet them and assure their comrades, whether in Ireland, England, continental Europe or North America, that they all have our continued support regardless of the length of time for which they may be held. Their sacrifice is for Ireland and for the future of all the people of our country.

Shortly after our 1992 Ard-Fheis came the results of the 26-County general election. It was a disaster for the Provisional political organisation which with 42 candidates lost 40 deposits. Thus they inflicted further damage on the historic Sinn Féin name which they hi-jacked in 1986 when they broke the Sinn Féin constitution.

Republican Sinn Féin warned in 1987 and again in 1989 of the danger of leaving a trail of lost deposits across the 26-County state. The complete absence of political wisdom shown in 1986 has continued and has resulted in the 1992 election results debacle. We have now had the "election after the next", as Gerry Adams promised - and the election after that again - and it has been downhill all the way for them.

In general the election results solve nothing and will solve nothing as decision-making becomes more and more remote from local communities - at GATT, Maastricht, the "G7", Brussels, the IMF and other world capitalist institutions. Rather than changing the personnel that operate the existing system, the necessity is for fundamental change to redirect the economy towards community, the environment and a sustainable future. Republican Sinn Féin advocates such a course but does not underestimate the task involved.

FAILED ENTITIES

At the same time the two partition states in Ireland were shown up as failed entities as never before. Total unemployment North and South headed towards half-a-million - while politicians engaged in a cynical attempt to disguise these dreadful figures and escape from blame.

The appalling politicians' debt south of the border - £28 billion a year ago, now £31 billion - misused and misspent since 1972, coupled with the total bankruptcy of the Six-County economy, gives no hope that these states will provide a living for the Irish people or will ever be viable. The many evils that pro-Maastricht propagandists said would befall us if that Treaty were defeated in that referendum, descended on us last

winter.

Punitively high mortgage and interest rates weighed down on the people causing untold hardships with foreclosures reaching alarming proportions. All the while the "constitutional" politicians in the partition states did nothing to confront the banks in their currency speculation. The architects of Maastricht are having to think again before the EC noose tightens further in 1996.

The possible accession of the Scandinavian countries with Austria and perhaps Switzerland, and the association of former Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe may well change the whole complexion of the EC. The thrust of development may indeed tend towards a wider but looser Europe to cater for greater diversity.

When Digital in Galway, a "model multi-national", let go 800 workers - three quarters of the total - in February last, our local members were quickly on the streets with 1000 copies of a leaflet. This pointed out yet again the folly of over-reliance on multi-nationals and advocated an indigenous industrial base.

The real and sane alternative, it stated in accordance with SAOL NUA - A New Way of Life, lay in small enterprises, worker/producer-owned cooperatives and regional development. The Developing the West Together series of meetings organised by the Bishops in recent times has clearly identified much of what is necessary.

Then in March SAOL NUA was approved by last year's Ard-Fheis was officially launched in Dublin. It called for a complete change of direction from the present system which is leading to greater dependency and ultimately disintegration as a nation. Crucial to this is a new system of economics which will put human beings and human development before the interests of finance and maximisation of profits.

SAOL NUA calls for non-polluting investment in natural resources and intermediate technology, redistributive taxation switching from taxing labour to levying land and capital, a basic minimum income and a comprehensive national health system for all; public control of the finance, banking and key industries with greater local economic democracy and community self-reliance plus the rescheduling of the politicians' debt. The Irish language which is central to our distinctive Irish identity must be promoted and developed.

MAJORITY

We have heard more about a majority of unionists being necessary from Mr Dick Spring, speaking on behalf of the Dublin Administration in recent weeks. This requirement is a response worthy of the British Government itself and is clearly a reaction to the increase in the Catholic population of the Six Counties to more than 40% - 43% in fact when those undeclared are taken into account - as shown in the 1991 Census Report published in the past year or so.

This proposal which Dublin has now conceded certainly lays the dice further against ending British rule in the Six Occupied Counties. The Provisionals also appear to have handed the British Government and the Unionists this further stick with which to beat the Nationalist population.

In April the President and the two Vice-Presidents of this organisation together with Ulster members of An Ard-Chomhairle attended a press conference in Belfast to underline the exclusion of Republican Sinn Féin from public life in the Six Counties and to demand the removal of the political test oath. Former councillors and more



• An t-Uachtarán Ruairí Ó Brádaigh delivers the key-note address to the delegates on November 14.

than 20 potential local election candidates from all over the Six Counties attended.

Helsinki Watch, the international human rights body, described the political test oath in its 1991 Report on the Six Counties as violating the right to free expression and called for it to be abolished. The report pointed out that the British government-appointed "Standing Advisory Committee on Human Rights" had also condemned the oath.

PASSING

The year also saw the passing of Seán Keenan of Derry, our Honorary Vice-President for life, during March. Seán ended a life-time of struggle for the freedom of Ireland. He never stood in a court in his life yet he spent 16 years in jail - inherited without trial. His life story is indeed the history of the nationalist people of the Six Counties these last 70 years. We bow our heads in homage.

Then in the past week we lost Katie B Keane, niece of the executed 1916 leader, Seán Mac Diarmada. Of all the families of the signatories of the Proclamation of the All-Ireland Republic, the Plunketts and the McDermotts were the most loyal to the Republican Cause.

Then in July came the event we all had hoped would never occur - the death in his native Mayo of our Patron, Comdt. General Tom Maguire, last general officer of the Irish Republican Army of 1921 and last and faithful survivor of the Second (All-Ireland) Dail Eireann. It was a moment in history.

UNYIELDING

He epitomised the unyielding Republican resistance to British rule throughout the 20th Century, through 80 years of service to the All-Ireland Republic. On a personal note it was my privilege to have known him intimately and to have served that Republic with him right down to his 101st birthday when I last saw him alive.

I remember his distress on learning that many but not all of the Northern Units of the Irish Republican Army had accepted the 26-County state in 1986. "It is a path to nowhere," he said. Many Northern Units and Volunteers had accepted the Treaty of Surrender in 1922 with disastrous consequences and the 1986 decision would rank nothing and would divide the ranks once more, he held.

He took an abiding interest in our work these past seven years, regarding us as the last hope for Irish Republicanism. Neither position nor gold could buy him, nor could unprincipled argument sway him. He would not be intimidated. Let us now salute his indomitable spirit by standing for a moment in silence — The Irish people have yet to hear Tom Maguire's last political will and testament. His spirit lives on, in all faithful Republicans.

While General Maguire's passing was the subject of extensive media comment and reporting throughout Ireland, in Irish exiles' papers in Britain, the United States and Australia, in a Breton nationalist journal and the magazines of other support groups of the Irish Cause on the continent, not one word of his death appeared in the *Irish News* of Belfast which represents itself as speaking for the people Tom Maguire held so dear.

THE LEVEL of British-backed Loyalist death-squad activity has peaked again in the past year. Public houses, bookies' shops, black taxis, even bedrooms at night are no longer safe for Nationalist men, women and children. GAA Club premises and even the homes of SDLP representatives have been subjected to a lower level of attention.

NOT INTIMIDATED

But the Nationalist people are not intimidated. This was seen clearly in Belfast recently when the turn-out for the funeral of Thomas Begley of

Ardoyne was the biggest for many years. But the media concentrated its attention on who carried the coffin rather than on finding out why the attendance was so unusually large.

When a UVF man was killed by his own grenade at an Orange march near the nationalist Springfield Road in July, several Unionist politicians including the allegedly liberal Cllr. Chris McGimpsey attended. The latter had "no objections" and could not "see any harm" in the RUC and Unionist politicians meeting with a senior member of the allegedly illegal UDA.

A UTV *Counterpoint* programme early this year, as well as the trial last year of British Government agent Brian Nelson and Ken Livingstone MP writing in the *Guardian* on March 8 all point to MIS agents recruiting and running these death-squads.

Hundreds of Kalashnikov rifles and grenades used in recent mass-killings were imported from Apartheid South Africa in recent years with the connivance of the British establishment in the Six Counties. They allege that to seize this cargo would have revealed their top agent in the UDA/UFF, Brian Nelson. The Stevens Inquiry into official collusion with these gangs exposed Nelson anyhow. Since August the Stevens Inquiry has been re-opened.

ENDORISING

Sir Patrick Mayhew in his Tunbridge Wells, England statement of early February reinforced the Unionist position saying the Six Counties "are as much part of Britain as Scotland, Wales or England". The constitutional guarantee would be "warmly, steadfastly and solemnly upheld" he said. In effect he responded to Loyalist death-squad activity by endorsing their demands.

The role of British Military Intelligence working through Loyalist death-squads to bring mass-murder to the 26 Counties was revealed in a first Tuesday documentary on Yorkshire

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Allowed to speak as one unit



demands at the point of the gun. The Dublin Opposition parties have long since been intimidated by the British-backed Loyalists but not the gallant Nationalist people of the Six Counties. The Dublin politicians and media may be surprised at the Provo compromise but not Republican Sinn Féin who know that when people give way on one basic principle, as in 1986, it is only a matter of time until they concede more and more. Look at the Workers' Party and Democratic Left in our own time!

NINE VOTES

In all of this the dependence of the British Tory Government on nine Official Unionist votes at Westminster for its survival is crucial. This brings us to Margaret Thatcher, who like the Bourbons has forgotten nothing and learned nothing. In the recently published memoirs of her time in office as British Prime Minister, she reveals that re-partition of the Six Counties was considered.

But most crucially of all the very fact that the British Prime Minister even considered re-partition means that she in fact and in logic thereby undermined her old tired line, that "the lady was not for turning" where the "constitutional position of Northern Ireland as part of the UK" is concerned. The vital thing deriving from the Thatcher memoirs is that the status of the Six Counties is already up for grabs according to the revelations of the great "Conservative and Unionist" leader herself.

And then in a recent BBC TV programme "Hunger Strike - a Hidden History" (Oct. '93) it was revealed that on the eve of Bobby Sands' death the British Government was about to concede to the hunger-strikers when the Stormont advisory committee on the matter - which included an MI5 man - recommended against and threatened to resign. London bowed to this pressure. As a matter of interest it was agreed by all sides on the programme that the hunger-strikers had won their demands, albeit at horrific cost, but that the weapon of hunger strike was broken for the time being.

WITH THE launching of the 26-County State's "National" Development Plan some weeks ago we were told that £20 billion would be available over the six years 1994 to '99. Last December after the Edinburgh Conference we were told the EC would provide £8 bn. With 10% devaluation early in the New Year, this should have risen to £8.8 bn, yet by July it was down to £7.8 bn.

By October it was in the region of £7.3 with accusations and counter-accusations flying. Anyhow the point is that the 26 Counties, in spite of the Development Plan, will have to export 15,000 of its citizens annually from this to 1999 to keep unemployment from rising well above the present outrageous level of 300,000. So we are told by reliable economists, e.g. Paul Tansey in the *Sunday Tribune*.

But were we not told that EEC membership, the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty would cure all that? What happens, it is fair to ask, after 1999 when no more EC Structural Funds, Cohesion Funds and so forth are available. We will be back to self-reliance, Sinn Féin, SAOL NUA.

It is necessary for us to push SAOL NUA at every opportunity, and not just at local press conferences although these are very necessary. The list of Immediate Action issues in which we should be involved is in keeping

with our Basic Values and Long-term Policy.

DILUTION

The steady dilution during the year of whatever Republican credentials the Provisionals held on to north of the Border has been remarked on by commentators following the suspension of Mr. Adams' six months of talks with John Hume, leader of the SDLP. By July "joint-authority" was acceptable as an "interim solution" and by October the Unionist veto was admissible.

Those who rejected "a planned, phased and orderly British withdrawal" in the late 1970s in favour of an "immediate withdrawal" would agree to 30 years or more in early 1993 and by October did not even list it as one of their demands. It was notable by its absence from the Provisionals' military statement of October 3rd.

They threw out ÉIRE NUA in 1981 under the slogan that it was "a sop to Unionists" and twelve years later are prepared to accept Unionist dictation. Our Social and Economic Programme was not left-wing or extreme enough for them in 1979 yet now they accept the super-capitalist EC.

When a disastrous accident on Belfast's Shankill Road heightened sectarian tension they got an opportunity within days to push forward again the national question in front of the world. A British soldier sprayed houses in Ardoyne with gunfire and seriously wounded a mourner outside the wakehouse of Thomas Begley.

When local people sought to confront the British forces immediately, a Provisional councillor restrained them and ordered them "back into your gardens". The moment passed and Irish people did not confront British forces on what was then a world stage.

Well and truly could an RTE reporter say on the *Prime Time* programme on October 7 that they had "jettisoned their Republican baggage", while on *Questions and Answers* on November 1, Unionist Councillor Raymond Ferguson of Enniskillen could tell viewers: "If Gerry Adams accepts the need for Unionist consent, then he is not a Republican".

Yet in spite of all this, the British do not thank Mr. Adams for his

initiative with Mr. Hume. They reject it and expel him from Britain. Later they will "examine" the media ban on him with a view to strengthening it.

Meanwhile the "Peace at all costs" people appear on cue, having been dormant since March, while nationalists were cut down in ones, twos and threes with no outcry from them. The Greysteel massacre wrong footed them and no notices appeared on RTE TV giving bank account numbers for contributions to relieve the distress of the bereaved Co. Derry families.

AS FOR Section 31, it seems clear that as Michael D. Higgins reaches make-up-your-mind time on this matter, maximum pressure is being exerted by all the forces of reaction to try and retain this insult to our intelligence and our right to know. In fairness, Mr. Higgins had some good things to say about state political censorship over the years - even if his angriest words always related more to the Third World than to his own country.

His credibility and basic honesty are now on the line in this matter. He surely remembers the first meeting of Galway Co. Council, of which he was then a member, in the Gaeltacht in Carraroe. Frank Glynn of Republican Sinn Féin was Council chairman with Mr. Higgins's support. He knows and Galway people know that Cllr. Glynn was one of the most dynamic, progressive and forward-looking chairpersons that the Co. Council ever had.

The meeting was covered live on Radio na Gaeltachta but the voice of the democratically-elected chairman had to be edited out by Radio na G. staff. That is what Section 31 is all about. It is a device through which one set of politicians denies the use of the air-waves to another set of politically-active people.

By way of contrast the BBC's documentary *Inside Story* in November last showed clearly what Republicans have always contended - that British law applies in one way to British forces and their agents in Ireland and in another way to the oppressed people in the Six Counties. Since then the Guildford Four policemen were found not guilty, the Birmingham Six police had the charges against them dropped because of "adverse publicity".

Despite the fact that hundreds of uninvolved Irish civilians have been killed by British forces in the past 24 years the conviction last June of a paratrooper for the murder of "joyriders" in Belfast is only the second case of a member of these forces being found guilty on such a charge. We hope he serves longer than the two years and two months the first served.

1972 TRUCE

Facing the immediate situation at home in Ireland, it is timely to remind the Ard-Fheis of an interesting incident when the Bilateral Truce of 1972 was being negotiated. John Hume was giving assistance to Dáithí Ó Conaill in the matter solely of transport on his way to meet the British side.

Hume suggested to him that the Republicans should settle for a compromise as the best available option. Ó Conaill said that that would split the Republican Movement. Hume replied that the "more progressive" (his words) section allied to the SDLP would make an irresistible force in Six-County nationalist politics.

Ó Conaill's answer was of course "No" and the 1975 bilateral truce was negotiated without even minimal assistance from the SDLP or any other quarter. One expects these moves from the so-called constitutional politicians but not from people who seek to be known as Republicans.

If the worst were to come to the worst, i.e. political and military defeat, and that is not the case, then the revolutionary Republican attitude should be as in 1923, 1945 and 1962: leave the way open for the next revolutionary wave and do not put obstacles in its path by constructing a Six-County Free State-type situation with the British Occupation Forces in the GAA and Nationalists inveigled into a re-named paramilitary police force and Royal Irish Regiment to spy on and repress their neighbours.

Separate Six and 26 County referenda are not acceptable to us. The Irish people must be allowed to speak as one unit, not in a monstrous gerrymander. Any referendum would be a meaningless exercise unless there is full and free access to the media for all points of view.

To the proposed bogus Six-County and 26-County referenda we

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Released POWs Tommy McKearney (Tyronne, left) and Tony McIntyre (Belfast, second from right) pictured at the 1993 Ard-Fheis with National Treasurer Mr Joe O'Neill and President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

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and reminded people that their leaders asked us to vote for Maastricht without any mandate from their members to do this. Under Maastricht we have the set-aside of land which is a crime against society, he said, and the fishermen of Portavogie burning their boats on the sea-shore at the behest of the EC.

A new society based on people first and foremost, with worker/ownership and community co-operatives was the way forward, he said. Republicans had a duty to appeal to people in their economic and social situation as well as in their political existence.

ELECTRICITY

Support was expressed in a further Connacht resolution for the local demands for an independent assessment of the proposed Carrick-on-hannon/Ballyshannon 220,000 volt electricity transmission line on health, tourism, agriculture and livestock and called on the ESB to reconsider their present plan.

The point was made that due to partition a clogging of electricity lines was evident in the north-west corridor to Donegal instead of the more natural situation in a United Ireland where power lines could cross counties Fermanagh and Tyrone.

A resolution from the Mac Curtain/Mac Suibhne Cumann, Cork was approved calling for Ireland to be declared a nuclear-free zone as was a Dublin and Kerry resolution condemning the cut-backs in the 32 Counties and the low levels of welfare payments paid to the aged, disabled and unemployed. Comhairle Cúige Laighean proposed a resolution condemning the use of emigration as a safety valve against the unemployment crisis "which abandons the unemployed to exploitation in the USA and elsewhere".

A Kildare resolution

congratulated both Derry on their success in the Senior Football championship and Armagh in the Junior camogie championship.

ELECTORAL strategy saw resolutions carried calling for preparations to be made to contest all local elections. Omagh and Leitster resolutions on the European

Article 21 (Ard-Chomhairle) to read "one member of the Comhairle Cúige and the power to co-opt three members for specific posts".

In the publicity SAOIRSE section resolutions highlighted the collaboration between Dublin and Britain "on the Dublin and Monaghan bombings and all covert activity" and the anti-national bias

keep SAOIRSE informed on local issues. A call from Omagh and Tallaght cumainn that a special effort be made to increase the sales of SAOIRSE was endorsed and the issues of abstentionism and Border road closures were highlighted by the Pádraig Ó Pearail Cumann, Wexford and the Liam Mellows Cumann, BÁC.

distinction in a key area, an Ard-Oifig for 10 years. Before that she had worked, also in a full-time capacity with the Republican newspaper of the time. Ard-Fheis delegates and visitors combined to present her with a bouquet of flowers

ELECTED

Cathleen was later elected to An Ard-Chomhairle at the head of the list. At the first meeting of the new Ard-Chomhairle she was appointed to An Coiste Seanta. Her successor as Ard-Rúnal Josephine Hayden goes forward with the good wishes and support of all. Later appreciation was expressed of the work of Eamon Larkin, Armagh who had served six years as Vice-President and had also stood down. An emergency resolution was passed on Sunday,

November 14 sending best wishes to Paddy Ruane, Carrmore, Co Galway, who was in a Galway hospital.

Paddy was thirty years a county councillor (1955-85) and chairman of the GAA County Hurling Board for many years. His father Tom Ruane was a member of the first Sinn Féin Council in Galway in 1920.

- Messages of support were received from the Pádraig Pearse Cumann, Melbourne, Australia; George Harrison, New York; Glasgow Republican Sinn Féin; Cumann na Saoirse, USA, SAOIRSE USA and EIRE NUA Inc; Eddie McGarrigle, Long Kesh.
- International solidarity greetings to the Ard-Fheis were read from Ierland Komitee Nederland; Partida Sardú; Independentista, Sardinia; James Connolly Irish Solidarity Committee; Canada; Herri Batasuna, Basque Country; EMA, Basque Country (French State); Union Valdotaíne; Partit Occitan and Assemblée de Povo Unido, Galicia.



• Ruairí Ó Brádaigh presents retiring Ard-Rúnal Cathleen Knowles with a piece of Clarinbridge crystal as a mark of appreciation.

elections proposed either putting forward abstentionist candidates or organising an active boycott campaign. The latter course of action was carried and the Omagh resolution was defeated. An Ard-Chomhairle resolution was also passed calling for the start of the process to select candidates to re-establish the 32-County All-Ireland parliament.

A constitutional amendment, requiring a two-thirds majority of the delegates, was passed changing

of the Independent newspaper group. Several motions called for Republican Sinn Féin policy documents to be distributed to journalists and local representatives in the 32 Counties.

PLIGHT

The media lack of attention to the plight of the nationalist people in the Six Occupied Counties was noted and all cumann PRs were asked to

The Officer Board and Ard-Chomhairle were elected for the coming year.

In presenting the Clarinbridge crystal plate to the retiring Ard-Rúnal, Cathleen Knowles, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh spoke on behalf of the outgoing Ard-Chomhairle. He expressed appreciation on behalf of all members of the organisation saying she had served full-time and with

The way forward to this is through the election of a 32-County Constituent Assembly which would have the sole task of drafting a new constitution for All Ireland. After this is adopted by a majority in an All-Ireland referendum the British must leave within twelve months. (See our *Towards a Peaceful Ireland* policy document for details.) These are honest, generous and principled proposals.

WORKED HARD

Our own members have worked hard all year. Our progress has been marked by a one-third increase in SAOIRSE - Irish Freedom to 16 pages each month. Those concerned

with its production are to be complimented but we need more sellers and greater sales. The political education course needs to be completed and put into effect. The town council elections in the 26 Counties must be prepared for and contested. The prisoners require our support and our policies, especially the Programme of Immediate Action listed in SAOL NUA, need to be implemented by every area. The 75th anniversary of the First Dáil, created by Sinn Féin, is upon us on Friday and Saturday, the 21st and 22nd of January next.

As the Provisionals move deeper into compromise, the spotlight will

move more in our direction. A priest well-known and very experienced in Six-County affairs said on local radio two weeks ago, "Republican Sinn Féin is waiting in the wings!" Will we - for we must - generate the capacity to take our place on stage? There is a world to be won out there and we have an unanswerable case.

As the French-Algerian author Albert Camus went stressing the importance of individual responsibility: *If we do not do this Who will do this?*

Go raibh maith agaibh. An Phoblacht Abú! Victory to the All-Ireland Republic!

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counter All-Ireland democracy with Britain committed to go and all political prisoners freed. To Reynolds's and Spring's six contradictory points we counterpose the three steps of the Republican Movement: (1) A British declaration of intent to leave Ireland; (2) A New Ireland negotiated by the Irish people themselves and (3) a general amnesty for ALL political prisoners.

If the Unionists feel abandoned by England and threatened by Dublin; if they perceive that nothing is left to them only their own Ulster identity, then we have something to say to them.

In the context of an English public undertaking to withdraw, the Ulster identity is a legitimate identity, as is the Munster, Leitster and Connacht identity in each case.

This identity can find expression through democratic structures in a free Ireland and would include Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter. In a nine-county Ulster with strong regional and local government those who are now Unionists could control their own lives. The position of each province in the New Federal Ireland would be entrenched in a written constitution with the complete separation of church and state and a pluralist society.

Foinse ionspioráide a thugann misneach do lucht na saoirse in Éirinn

RUAIRÍ Ó BRÁDAIGH referred to the centenary year of Conradh na Gaeilge this year as he spoke in front of an Ard-FDheis backdrop reading 'Ní Saoirse go Saoirse cultúrtha 1893-1993':

DOB É 1993 bliain mhór na Gaeilge - comóradh céad bliain ar bhliain Chonradh na Gaeilge. O'n searmanas ag uaigh an Athar Eoghain Uí Ghrannáin i Mánuat Lá Chinn Bhliana anonn go deire Oireachtas na Gaeilge in Gaillimh coicís óshoin bhí Poblachtáigh dílse páirt teachas nua gníomhartha ar fad ar feadh na bliana. Rinne SAOIRSE cur síos ar chúid mháith scao seo ó míl Éanáir i leith.

Mar chúnamh dó seo, rinne Sinn Féin Poblachtach an comóradh bliantúil ar Wolfe Tone i mBaile Bhuadain áfacháil go h-úile agus go

h-íomlán na Gaeilge nuair a labhair an Comhairleoir Seán Ó Loingsigh as Longfort cois na h-uaighe. Thug na páipéirí laethiúla cuntas gearr air seo i mBeárla, ar ndóigh ach síú is focal amháin nior chuid páipéir seachtainiúil na Gaeilge Anois linn, cé gur cuireadh tuairisc iomlán chucu.

Section 31 it seems has been unofficially extended to other parts of the media, without anybody being told. In contrast LA, the Belfast-based weekly Irish language paper, gave generous publicity to our Bodenstown experiment, agus táimid thar a bheith buíoch dá bharr.

I rith mí Lúnasa, bhí Anois ag tuairimíocht an mbeadh comóradh an Chóilcéanaigh ag Béal na mBláth tré Ghaeilge ar fad. Scriobhadh litir chuig Anois ag meabair dhó an méid a rinne an eagraíocht seo i mBaile Bhuadain mí Mheithimh ach faic na fríde de níor chuireadh í gcló. I mBeárla a bhí comóradh Bheárla na mBláth ar an nós.

Rinneadh mór-obair freisin d'Fheis na Poblachta i mí Mheán Fómhair. Rinne Gaeilgoirí na broisín ó na daicheadáil i leith cur síos ar mhíneadh agus labhair na Gaeilge sa "jalltach", mar a deir sib. B'íomhach siúitíúil go dco scéal chimí na Ceise Fada, áit ar fhoghlaim sib an teanga dúchais gan chailic gan clár duibh, gan pheann nó páipéar agus stailc na mbliaincéid ar síúl aca.

Is mór an chreidínt atá á dhul dóibh as a ndíoras agus a ngníomh. Ceist amháin agus bliain seo na Gaeilge ag sleamhú uainn - an bhfeicfidh muid Teilefís na Gaeilge na Gaeilge ar an saol go luath, rud a gaealladh dhúinn go minic cheana?

MESSAGE

At this stage in the centenary year of the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge, I wish to address a special message to the Irish speaking people of Ireland:

Cuirimid beannachtai agus dea-

mhéin chuig gach duine atá ag saothrú ar son na Gaeilge agus na Gaeltachta - anois na náisiúin agus an fhoinse ionspioráide is mó a thugann misneach do lucht na saoirse in Éirinn le blianta fada anois. Níl náire ar bith orainne mar eagraíocht agus mar ghlúiseacht a admháil go raibh tionchar ollmhór ag bunú Chonradh na Gaeilge, 100 bliain ó shin, le fóras na gluaiseachta seo san 20ú aois.

Mura mbéadh ann ach an líon mór daoine a ghlac páirt in Eirí Amach 1916 a d'admhaigh go raibh siad faoi thionchar Chonradh na Gaeilge - gan trácht ar an olltúint agus an oideachas a chuir an Conradh agus Ghlúiseacht na Gaeilge ar bhail dár gúid i gcaitheamh na mblianta.

Ní cúrsaí Gaeilge amháin a bhí i gceist anois rianmh, ach léann agus dúchas agus go háirithe thair seanchais na muintire! Trua gan bhaint níos dlúithe ag Conradh na Gaeilge le réiteach agus míneadh na staire don óige.

Ina áit sin is scannúil an rud é cé chomh dall is atá óige na tíre, inár

glúiseacht féin go minic, ar chláir iomlán áire staire. Cuid den nua-stair is ea na blianta trioblóideacha úd nuair a thosaigh Fianna Fáil faoi Gheardaí Ó Coileáin ag feidhmiú Ailt 31 mar ghléas cinsireachta in RTE.

Lean Conrúise-O'Brien lena phort clainda eagarthóireachta féin ar an méid a ceadaíodh a léiriú don náisiún Éireannach. Agus is náireach iad na beannaí, beannaí bunolaí atá le brath ar son stair a chuirtear ar fáil don chéad ghliúin eile dá bharr.

This centenary year was the first time ever that a realistic step was taken to ensure that we, the authentic voices of unfettered and uncompromising Irish Republicanism, had seen to it at Bodenstown that native Irish speakers and more importantly perhaps the next generation of young Irish citizens in the Gaeltacht and outside it were allowed to pay their tribute to Tone without having to compromise their national language position and their linguistic and cultural rights.

Computer analysis reveals forgery of Casement 'diaries'

Le Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh

CASEMENT'S diaries are still a controversial subject after almost eighty years. The Irish patriot, who was knighted some years earlier, was hanged in 1916 after being charged with treason. He was captured on the morning of Good Friday on Banna Strand after an abortive attempt to land some 20,000 German-made rifles as part of the preparations for the Easter Rising in Dublin.

The diaries of Sir Roger have strained Anglo-Irish relations in every decade since he was hanged. The other leaders of the 1916 Rising faced British firing-squads. In recent days the author and historian Eoin Ó Maille has produced new evidence to support long-held Irish beliefs that Casement was "blackened" in an effort to make his execution more acceptable to the British public. Such was necessary they believe because there was still a great deal of sympathy in Britain for the cause of Home Rule in Ireland.

The London 'Casement Diaries' are one of the greatest literary frauds of modern times, Ó Maille claims. He has enlisted

the aid of modern high technology to support his thesis. A computer study carried out by him and publisher Michael Paine and researcher Máirín Uí Callanáin has "provided the final proof that the diaries are forgeries", the trio say.

Following the American standard computer analysis tests, the three researchers say that the Casement diary kept in Trinity College in Dublin and 'the alleged diaries in London' have been compared in the study "and the results prove beyond doubt that the London diaries were not written by Casement".

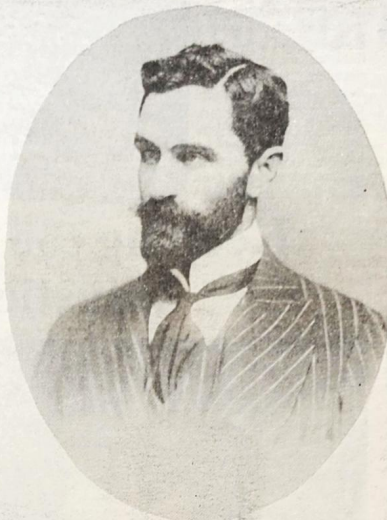
STYLE PATTERNS

The computer studies reveal "significant differences in the style patterns in the diaries".

Mr Paine said that the tests carried out clearly show that while both the 1910 London 'diary' and the 1903 London 'diary' were written by one person, the Casement diary kept in Trinity College, which has already been authenticated, was written by another person entirely, Roger Casement.

The tests carried out rely on aspects of the text, including the number of words per sentence, the complexity of the sentences and the use and frequency of uncommon words. According to the computer study, there are striking similarities between the two London 'diaries' but "no comparison whatsoever to the Dublin diary".

The London 'diaries' are made up of sentences of between



• Roger Casement

seven and twelve words on average, while the Dublin diary sentences range up to 38 words on average. Yet it was formerly claimed that the Dublin diary and the London 1910 'diary' were written within two weeks of each other.

Mr Paine commented:

"They show patterns which would have required that Casement would need to have completely changed his writing style in order to be the author of both of them."

He went on to describe the analysis the trio used. It was based on the American

standard used to examine documents for authenticity and said the computer is not wrong. "It finally proves that the London diaries are both forged, and by the same person," he said.

FINGERPRINTS

Mr Ó Maille, who has for years maintained that the "linguistic fingerprints" in the diaries irrefutably proved that Casement was not the author of the so-called London 'diaries' which contain references to homosexual practices — said

that computers have now provided the final proof of what he has already shown.

A few months ago, Eoin Ó Maille, called on those who "co-sponsored" the London 'diaries', which he claims are false, to withdraw these books, which he says were written by "hiring historians which defame the blameless dead, even as they scandalise the coming generations".

Most enlightened people in Ireland, including academics and historians, are mainly interested in the conspiracy theory as such points to many high-ranking political and legal figures being involved. This trio of researchers, and other interested parties, will have to wait some years yet before this age-old controversy is put to rest. Casement's aims may come to pass before then.

Kevin Barry Commemoration in Rathvilly

MEMBERS of Republican Sinn Féin from Carlow, Kildare, Dublin and Wexford attended the Kevin Barry Commemoration in Rathvilly on a bitterly cold Sunday, November 28.

Led by the Tricolour, carried by Celia Conway from Kildare they marched to the memorial in the centre of the town where the proceedings were chaired by Deasún Ó Dálaigh of Athy, Chairperson of Comhairle Cúige Laighean. A wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Peter Cunningham of Dublin and the oration was delivered by Lita Ni Chathmhaoil, Ard-Rúnaí, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

In the course of her oration she said: "Kevin Barry epitomised all that is worthy and noble in Irish youth and should stand as a shining example to young people who yearn and struggle for true democracy and freedom. Today, when the 32-County Irish Republic is in the process of being sold again by former comrades, the contrast provided by the sacrifice of young men such as Kevin Barry is all the more striking.

"As we predicted in 1986 the Provisionals have now gone fully down the road of surrender

of the Republic with their 'Hume/Adams or Spring' six-point plan, which effectively closes the door forever to the 32-County Irish Republic, will not bring peace because they do not address the root problem in the Six Occupied Counties, which is the British presence. Have all the deaths, imprisonment and suffering of the last 25 years been for nothing? Peace at any price is and was always available, all that is required is surrender.

CLOSES DOOR
"Hume/Adams or Spring's six-point plan, which effectively closes the door forever to the 32-County Irish Republic, will not bring peace because they do not address the root problem in the Six Occupied Counties, which is the British presence. Have all the deaths, imprisonment and suffering of the last 25 years been for nothing? Peace at any price is and was always available, all that is required is surrender.

Republicans want peace, they have always wanted peace but **PEACE WITH JUSTICE**, not a patched-up arrangement with some vague promise of British withdrawal thirty years

down the road with the consent of the Unionists. In the meantime a new Stormont would seem to be on the agenda.

"The way forward to a New Ireland is through the election of a 32-County Constituent Assembly, as proposed in our policy document *Towards a Peaceful Ireland*, which would have the sole task of drafting a new constitution for All Ireland. After this is adopted by a majority in an All-Ireland referendum the British must leave within twelve months. In **ÉIRE NUA** we propose four democratically-elected provincial parliaments which would guarantee the rights of the Unionist people.

"As long as Britain still maintains a hold on Irish soil there will be Irish men and women to oppose them in any way possible and any cobbled-together 'peace' will merely pass the Irish 'problem' on to the next generation.

RESIST

"We who have chosen the path of Republicanism have never found it easy but at this dangerous time when the Republic of 1916 and 1919 is

once again being sold out we must stand together and resist the new surrender. We owe it to the memory of all those who have died down the years to uphold and defend the Republic for which they died. We have never in the past allowed ourselves to be deterred by former comrades who accepted the right of Britain to rule in Ireland and we will not be deterred now.

"All of us have a grave responsibility, we alone are articulating the Republican position for which Kevin Barry and his comrades made the supreme sacrifice. We must go from here with the avowed intention of resisting the policies of surrender that are currently being put to the people of the Occupied Six Counties and redouble our efforts in the coming year for the cause of Irish freedom.

"Kevin Barry died for a 32-County Irish Republic. To face death in the heat of battle surrounded by one's comrades is an heroic act, but to face death alone in a prison cell surrounded only by one's jailors and tormentors takes supreme courage. That Kevin possessed



• Kevin Barry

that courage we know not only from his arrest, interrogation and death but from his final words to Fr Albert, the Capuchin chaplain: "the only message I

have for anybody is 'hold on and stick to the Republic'." Let us remember and be worthy of Kevin Barry's last message," she concluded.

BRITAIN'S 'SCANDALOUS TREATMENT' OF PRISONERS' FAMILIES

DESPITE having accepted the recommendations of its own working group that prisoners should be transferred to jails near their families, the British government has not transferred one prisoner from Britain to Ireland.

It is now a year since the Ferrers Report acknowledged the "intolerable burden" on families of having to travel to England to visit imprisoned relatives and called for the rules to be changed.

Then the Stormont security minister Michael Mates said in the British House of Commons that he accepted in full the recommendations of the Ferrers

Report. Since then 29 requests for permanent transfer to the Six Counties have been made and none granted. There are at present 28 long-term Irish political prisoners in English prisons.

Their relatives and supporters staged pickets on the first anniversary of the report — November 23 — at Stormont, the British Embassy in Dublin and the Home Office

in London.

Nuala Kelly, spokesperson for the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas said that the delay was inexcusable. "There is no reason whatsoever for the failure to implement the Ferrers Report. If the delay is due to political reasons, as it appears to be, that is scandalous."

She was equally critical of the Dublin administration which has not ratified the Council of Europe Convention on the Transfer of Sentenced Prisoners, seven years after first signing it.

It is the only administration in Europe which has not done so.

Visits to relatives in prison in England can cost a minimum of £400 per trip including travel and accommodation, which means that only one or two journeys can be afforded in the year.

Caroline McEvoy of the Committee for the Transfer of Irish prisoners outlined the conditions endured by many relatives, often too old or too ill to make the journey to visit jails in England. "Those who did experience harassment under the PTA, fear, isolation and debt, trying to maintain contact with loved ones," she said.

Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund

FOLLOWING the death on January 1, 1991 of Sinn Féin Poblachtach Vice-President, Dáithí Ó Conaill, the Ard Chomhairle established a National Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund and appointed a Committee. Those elected to the Committee are: Joe O'Neill, Cathleen Knowles, Michael McManus and Tom Malone.

The Fund is ongoing and we are appealing for donations to this worthy cause. All contributions, large or small will be gratefully acknowledged. Please send your donation to the Dáithí Ó Conaill Memorial Fund, ÉIRE NUA office, 41 Arran Quay, Dublin 7.

• Now available: Dáithí Ó Conaill In Memoriam Cards price £1 each or bulk orders 60p.

A chara

Trial by jury and the right to silence, whether during police questioning or at trial, are salient components which form a fundamental principle of law that an accused person is innocent until proven, by due process under the rule of law, to be guilty.

In the North of Ireland we do not have trial by jury, we have politically appointed case-hardened judges who alone act as tribunal of fact and law in what are known as Diplock courts.

Suspects do not have the right to remain silent, in fact should a suspect remain silent under police questioning or/ and during trial then this in itself is sufficient to obtain a conviction under the Criminal Evidence (Northern Ireland) Order 1988. In effect this means the burden of proof has been shifted from the prosecution to the defence and totally undermines the presumption of innocence.

Moreover, as it now stands the loosely interpreted legislation of the 'Emergency Provisions Act' (EPA) which give police and courts sweeping powers, now demand an accused to not just prove their innocence beyond that of a reasonable doubt but, as I will later seek to establish, beyond a shadow of a doubt.

The EPA gives the RUC special powers of arrest without warrant and to detain a suspect for a period of seven days. Access to a legal advisor during detention can be denied for the first 48 hours and then for further periods of 48 hours. Although the European Court of Human Rights have, in the case of Brogan and Others, ruled that seven day detention orders are excessive and contrary to European law the RUC continue to exercise this well-established practice.

During this detention suspects are questioned for periods of 12-14 hours. Interviews are not audio or visually recorded and legal representatives are not permitted to attend RUC interviews of their client.

This practice has inevitably led to much contention during the course of subsequent trials in which an accused has argued that alleged uncorroborated verbal and written admissions were fabricated by the interviewing RUC officers. RUC interviewers however deny any such suggestions by the accused that they have in fact fabricated evidence and, as the accused has no independent witnesses to back up these assertions — how could they, given the Draconian rules of detention under the EPA? — the trial judge will convict on the basis of that uncorroborated statement.

Even to the layman this is an extremely dangerous practice therefore. Why do trial judges persist on accepting uncorroborated verbal and written admissions as conclusive proof of guilt? Why not take on board a recent statement made by a Dublin Supreme Court judge, Justice Hederman, when commenting on a suspects rights said "If a suspect's rights were observed in Garda custody, particularly the right to the presence of a legal representative, it would be a greater safeguard than a requirement that evidence should be corroborated?"

Surely such a basic right incorporated within the rules of detention would safeguard

the suspect and RUC interviewers thus saving court time on the admissibility of accepting and convicting, dubious uncorroborated statements, not to mention restoring public confidence in the administration of justice? Perhaps the answers to these very important questions lay hidden in the somewhat obscure statement of Lord Chief Justice Brian Hutton



Keeping the Floodgates of Injustice Closed



● DUP man Peter Robinson, Alan Wright and Noel Little at an Ulster Resistance rally in 1986 (see letter below).

when he said it is the duty of the courts to act "so as not to defeat the will of Parliament".

Under Section 8 of the EPA an accused must give evidence of proof that a confession was obtained by torture or inhuman or degrading treatment in order to challenge admissibility. Even this particular section has been loosely interpreted by the judiciary and so the goal posts keep changing in adverse consideration to the accused.

For example during some cases judges have deemed occasional open palm slaps, the banging of fists on tables and continuous shouting by interviewing RUC officers at suspects not to contravene Section 8. Medical evidence such as bruising to the head and body have been explained away as being "self-inflicted". How then can a suspect prove that interviewing notes have been fabricated, given the rules of detention which makes independent evidence virtually impossible, or that confessions were coerced as given under Section 8?

Prior to the mid 1980s unless interviewing police officers admit brutality or the fabrication of interview notes — they never have — it was not possible to refute their evidence and so some 80-90% of all Diplock Court convictions were obtained on uncorroborated evidence alone. The emergence of a new scientific process known as ESDA gave hope to many accused awaiting trial who viewed it as a court-accepted independent witness which would establish interviewing notes had been fabricated and this in turn would give them an acquittal.

In one of the first cases taken using ESDA as evidence it was found that eight to ten pages of interviewing notes allegedly made by Fermanagh man, Barry Murray, had indeed been fabricated. When questioned on this in court the interviewing police officers denied fabricating and rewriting the interview notes and could give no explanation, innocent or otherwise, why ESDA proved conclusively that they

had. Given that the only evidence against Barry was that of the now proven to be rewritten and fabricated interview notes he had every reason to expect acquittal under the "reasonable doubt" principle. However, in his summing up the trial judge intimated that in all probability the interview notes had been rewritten but he was satisfied the notes were "genuine", and "there was no malevolent or sinister element involved in the rewriting of certain pages".

So, whilst Barry substantiated the legal principle of "reasonable doubt" he seems to have fallen short of the required "shadow of doubt" principle and was subsequently sentenced to 18 years imprisonment.

The case of the UDR 'Four' was referred back to the Court of Appeal under new evidence as a result of ESDA. Their case had been backed by prominent Unionist politicians, including Rev Ian Paisley, and was therefore the focus of much media and public attention.

At the original trial of the Four it was the prosecution's contention that all four were party to the killing of an Armagh man Adrian Carroll. The case for the prosecution rested on the basis of uncorroborated verbal and written admissions of the Four and evidence of a witness against Latimer.

All four made allegations of police brutality and stated that interview notes had been fabricated and statements signed by them were dictated by interviewing RUC officers. The trial judge rejected these claims as "lies and nonsense" and subsequently sentenced each to life imprisonment.

When their case was referred back to the Court of Appeal the presiding judges ruled that ESDA showed conclusive proof that notes made by the RUC were rewritten and that false authentications were appended to the notes by senior RUC officers.

ESDA also made it clear

that senior RUC officers lied at the trial because they said none of the interview notes had been rewritten. In light of these revelations the three convicted on the basis of uncorroborated statements had their appeals allowed and were freed while that of the fourth, Latimer, was denied.

Given that it was initially the prosecution's case that all four acted in concert it will seem strange to many that, in spite of corroborating evidence against Neil Latimer, the

Appeal Court allowed three of the appeals against conviction while denying the fourth. Many will be persuaded that his conviction had not been proven beyond reasonable doubt but then again he has not proved his innocence beyond a shadow of doubt as required of him.

On being interviewed after the freeing of three of the UDR Four a highly respected Belfast

officers by lying can have men put away for many years. It would be amazing for me if this was the one and only case of its kind in this country".

In spite of the Lord Chief Justice asking the DPP to investigate the fact that senior police officers committed perjury, and leading politicians, clergy and solicitors strongly intimating evidence of many past and present cases of RUC corruption why has the RUC Chief Constable denied access to original police interview notes which were the sole basis of conviction in the case of Séamus Mullen?

On replying to a letter from Séamus Mullen's solicitor requesting the original police interview notes the Chief Constable stated he could not allow this because to do so may well open the floodgates.

Perhaps he means the floodgates of injustice imposed by the "will of Parliament" as enshrined in the Emergency Provisions Act?

EDDIE MCGARRIGLE
A2511
Hospital Wing,
H-Blocks
Long Kesh
Lisburn
Co Antrim



● Ian Paisley

Paisley and pro-British death squads

A chara

In Brenda Power's report in the Sunday Tribune (November 28) on the recent DUP conference, Ian Paisley was quoted as saying: "Those with blood on their hands and the guilt of years of devilish carnage have no right to be at the negotiating table". How embarrassing it must be, therefore, for Mr Paisley to recall that in 1959, in the run-up to that year's Twelfth 'celebrations', his declaration to fellow loyalists:

"You people of the Shankill Road, what's wrong with you? Number 425 Shankill Road — do you know who lives there? Pope's men, that's the whole Forties ice-cream shop, Italian papists on the Shankill Road! How about 56 Aden Street? For 97 years a Protestant lived in that house and now there's a Papish in it. Crimea Street, number 381 Twenty-five years that house has been up, 24 years a Protestant lived there but there's a Papish there now."

How many hands has Mr Paisley blooded by the above and similar remarks over the years? And indeed, before then? For instance, in 1956 Mr Paisley founded the Ulster Protestant Action organisation, whose stated aim was: "to keep Protestant and loyal workers

in employment in times of recession in preference to their Catholic fellow-workers".

The UPA was not particular in the method it employed in doing so and, more recently (1986) Mr Paisley's DUP colleague, William Beattie, repeated the message in a more direct fashion when he told the DUP youth wing: "We must hire assassins (to kill Catholics) and pay them when the job is done". Ian Paisley did not attempt to convince Beattie that "Those with blood on their hands and the guilt of years of devilish carnage have no right to be at the negotiating table".

Two years ago, a Unionist ally of Ian Paisley, the UDP's Ken Kerr (former Royal Marine Commando, ex-UDR, ex-prison officer, ex-UDA), stated in a Hot Press interview (May 16, 1991, page 8):

"When I was involved in the UDA, these people (Paisley and Molynaux) used men like me to do their dirty work. They made their threats and the paramilitaries were the muscle that carried them out for them. Of course, they never had the guts to admit that and they probably never will have the guts to admit it. Ian Paisley

has said that he has never sat down round a table with paramilitaries [was at meetings with Ian Paisley sitting down with paramilitaries. I am serious — I was at meetings with Ian Paisley sitting down with loyalist paramilitaries.]

"Those with blood on their hands..." Mr Paisley. In the same report from Brenda Power, the DUP's Peter Robinson is quoted as stating: "We will rally this country behind us and from one end of Ulster to the other the message of 'No Dublin Rule' will be heard from our platforms". Does Mr Robinson seriously consider "Ulster" (sic) to be a "country"? By what immense stretch of the imagination was this conclusion arrived at? What was the criteria used? Who else in Unionist circles would recognise a six-county "Ulster" as a "country"?

And how would the many pro-Unionist establishment figures in the 26-County state explain said description? Or, by their silence, can it be taken that they agree with it?

JOHN HORAN (PRO)
Comhairle Ceantair Atha
Cliaith
Republican Sinn Féin

LÉIRMHEAS

War and an Irish Town by Éamonn McCann, Pluto Press (new edition, 1993), £5.99.
ÉAMONN McCANN is a Derry man and a dedicated revolutionary socialist since his time in Queen's University Belfast in the early 1960s.

He was deeply involved in the Civil Rights movement in Derry and was one of the organisers of the first civil rights march there on October 5, 1968. Since then he has been an articulate spokesperson on radical platforms, including many in support of the H-Block and Armagh hunger-strikers in 1980 and 1981.

Republicans will be interested to know that on selection as a labour candidate in the 1970 Westminster elections his nomination was rejected by the Northern Ireland Labour party executive because he refused to give a commitment to non-violence. He stood as an Independent Socialist, polling 7,500 votes.

CONTRIBUTOR
 Never a member of the

Republican Movement, he is attached to the International Socialists and is a regular contributor to Socialist Worker. Independent-minded, he has always rejected Stalinism while seeking a coherent class-based programme.

His outstanding publication is the Penguin Special *War and an Irish Town* first published 20 years ago. In the 1993 edition published by Pluto Press he has some interesting things to say.

ALLIANCE

"So Gerry Adams got to meet Mary Robinson and may well manage to construct an alliance between the SDLP and other constitutional nationalist parties. The Sinn Féin leadership isn't lacking in conventional political skills.

'Joint Authority' forecast



● **Éamonn McCann**

"But Yasser Arafat got to address the General Assembly of the United Nations and was recognised as head of government

by more than 50 countries, including a nuclear superpower, and little good it did to him or the suffering people of Palestine.

"On the contrary, it was because he did deals with the ruling class that he could not lead the people to freedom.

"The rush to respectability could, although in my own judgement this is very unlikely, result in the Provos having a hand in making the sort of settlement they seem themselves to envisage — 'Joint authority' or 'Joint sovereignty', the North and Dublin governments, or something such, in any event a settlement, it seems, which might find acceptance from at least Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, the SDLP, the British government of the day...

"This is not a high ambition. For this hundreds of Volunteers have given their lives, tens of thousands of years have been spent in prisons, 10 men died on hunger strike?

INVESTED

"Republicans have invested more suffering in the Northern struggle than any other single group. As individuals they have

asked for remarkably little in return. They should be asking for more than this."

McCann continues: When I wrote *War and an Irish Town* 20 years ago I jeered at the Provos plan for an **ÉIRE NUA**, in which each of the ancient provinces of Ireland would have its own parliament and a most elaborate structure of government under one umbrella. But at least it represented something different. It was a vision of sorts.

"What a drab prospectus the present leadership offers in contrast! What limited vision! What limited imagination!

"In meeting Mary Robinson Gerry Adams was conceding that the Provos cannot win anything commensurate with what they and the people they speak for have put into the struggle, that they most they can achieve is a rearrangement rather than the overthrow of the existing order."

And McCann asks:

"Don't they want to turn the world upside down?"

cinnte. Ach braiteann sé ar an gcaoi a gaithear an t-airgead seo. Ní mór an "ghetto" a sheachaint.

Ghaidhligte scaipthe trasna na stáisiúin go léir (BBC, Grúnpáin agus STV) agus fige fuaithe sa sceideal leis na gnáthchláracha Béarla ar a bhfuil tóir ag an

Teilifís na Gaeilge fé dheire? SEACHAIN AN GHETTO!

IS FADA Gaeilgeoirí agus Poblachtaigh agus a lucht tacaíochta ag agóid fá choinne Theilifís na Gaeilge/Gaeltachta. Ag Ard-Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge ar an Spidéal i gConamara i 1980 a ritheadh rún don chéad uair á lorg.

B'éigin stáisiúin faoi thalamha a thúirt ar an saol agus a chur ar siúl go rialta sul ar bunadhi Raidió na Gaeltachta i 1972.

Agus rinneadh iarrachtaí stáisiúin neamh-cheadaithe (ag stát na 26 Chontae) a bheith ann le linn Oireachtas na Gaeilge cailpa bliain ó shoin chun treise a chur leis an éileamh.

Anois deirtear go mbeidh Teilifís na Gaeilge ar fáil i 1995, ach nach mbeidh ach 60% den phobal sa stát in-ann teacht air i dtosch. Beidh ceantair Ghaeltachta áirithe ina measc siúd nach mbeidh ar a gcumas.

Deirtear go mbeidh "chuidach 90% ann faoi lár 1996 agus go leathnófar é seo go 98% faoi lár 1997. Níl aon chur síos ar mhuintir na Sé Chontae san tairisíe oifigiúil, áit a bhfuil 142,000 Éireannach a thugann Gaeilge de réir daonáireamh 1991.

In all suimíúil fé'n teideal "Mheallán Gaidhlig lucht feachana" deir an saoirseoir Facha Ó Drisceoil san *Irish*

Times, 30ú Samhain, go gcaithfear aon chineál "ghettoisation" a sheachaint.

ALBAN

I gcás na h-Alban de, luann sé: "In ainneoin nach bhfuil ach 40,000 Gaidhligheoirí in-abhanrach craolchán STV, d'éirigh leis an stáisiún meán-lucht féachanna de 350,000 a bhaint amach dá spás rialta i gcoir cláracha Gaidhligte, tráthnóna Dé Chéadaoin, le trí bliana anuas".

Dhá chúis mhóir leis seo: (1) bíonn fóiteidil ar fáil agus (2) déan tar cláracha a bhaineann leis na réimsí éagsúla den saol ina bhfuil suim ag daoine, bíodh Gaidhlig acu nó ná bíodh.

I gcás Sianel Pedwar Cymru sa mBreatain Bhig de, is ag galúntraithe is mó a bhfuil dúil ag an bpobal iontu. Ní h-ionann an dá chás, áfach.

Níl ach 79,000 Gaidhligheoirí, nó 2.5% den phobal, in Albain cé go bhfuil 500,000 de Bhreantaiseoirí ann nó 18.9% de dhaonra na Breataine Bige. Is



● **Teilifís '94 conference in Carraro, Co Galway.**

stáisiúin lán-Bhreatnaiséach é SAC.

Tá siad ann atá ag gearán anois ar airgead a chaitheamh ar Ghailge a bheith ar theilifís, ar

ndóigh. Ní labhrann siad faoi chur amúairgid phoiblí i gcásarna suntasacha atá ar eolas fo foirleathan.

Feicfead amach anseo,

Fágfar an focal deireannach ag fear an *Irish Times*. "An difríocht bunúsach atá idir an dá chás (Alba agus an Bhreatain Bheag) ná go bhfuil na cláracha

bpobal.

"Tugann sé seo le fios nach mbeinn ann teanga le míonlach ar leith ach le pobal iomlán na h-Albain."

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 - White £5 plus p&p

- Sweat-shirts:**
- 26 + 6 = 1; Put it Back Thief Now!... two-colour on black or navy £9.00
 - 1916 Proclamations; Plaques: 1916 Leaders / Hunger Strikers £1.00
 - Brits Out pens and keyrings 60p
 - Brits Out lighters £1
 - James Connolly badges (metal) £2.50
 - Selection of other books available, book-list available on request

THE IRA ENDURES AND SURVIVES

50 YEARS AGO

IN mid-December 1943 two Irishmen were parachuted from German aircraft into Co. Clare. Neither had any connection with the Republican

Movement.

Their mission was rather to report back to Germany on weather conditions. For this they brought radio transmitters and sums of money.

Both had been working in the Channel Islands before the outbreak of war and were interned by German forces when they occupied the islands. They had offered to work for the Germans because they just wanted tickets to return home to Ireland.

The first was John Francis O'Reilly (28) who had lived mainly in Kerry where his father had been stationed as an RIC sergeant. In fact it was Sergt O'Reilly who had arrested Roger Casement on Good Friday, 1916 at McKenna's Fort after he had been landed at Banna Strand by a German submarine!

John Francis O'Reilly had broadcast for the Germans. He had read the news bulletins to Ireland in English after two German professors had transmitted the same news in the Irish language. Many listeners to German broadcasts got to know the genuine Irish "brogue" of one "Pat O'Brien".

On December 16, O'Reilly landed near Moeven, three miles from Kilkree, Co. Clare but was arrested shortly afterwards and interned. Three days later John Kenny (35) landed at Kiltfeanagh, also near Kilkree. He was forced to give himself up because of serious injuries sustained when he was dragged a long way by his parachute.

BROKE OUT

In July 1944 O'Reilly broke out of Arbour Hill Prison, Dublin and reached his home in Clare. Three days later he was denounced by his ex-policeman father and was returned to his cell. After the war he went to the United States.

John Kenny was known to Republicans in Dublin in the 1970s as "Seán Kenny" when he emerged again from obscurity and was working as a taxi-driver. He rendered every assistance he could to the Movement in the years preceding his death about 1987. Ar dheis Dé go raibh sé.

The arrival of these two parachutists was used to strengthen the hand of US Ambassador David Gray then preparing a draft note to be sent by Washington to de Valera. He was trying to push the Dublin administration into a more openly co-operative stance with Britain and America.

Further on December 21, British representative in Dublin Sir John Maffey was negotiating with de Valera for the removal of a radio transmitter from the German legation. The set was put into a bank vault.

Then on December 27/28 the Irish freighter *Kerlogue* picked up 164 German naval ratings in

THE OLD BOG ROAD

My feet are here on Broadway
This blessed harvest morn.
But Oh! the ache that's in them
For the sod where I was born.
My weary hands are blistered
From toil in cold and heat!
And Oh! to swing a scythe to-day
Through fields of Irish wheat.
Had I the chance to journey back,
Or own a king's abode.
'Tis soon I'd see the hawthorn tree
By the Old Bog Road.

When I was young and innocent
My mind was ill at ease,
Through dreaming of America,
And the gold beyond the seas.
Oh, sorrow take their money,
'Tis hard to get that same,
And what's the world to any man
If no one speaks his name.
I've had my day and here I am
With building bricks for load.
A long three thousand miles away
From the old Bog Road.

My mother died last springtime.
When Ireland's fields were green.
The neighbours said her waking
Was the finest ever seen.
There were snowdrops and primroses
Piled up around her bed.
And Ferns Church was crowded
When her funeral Mass was said.
And here was I on Broadway
With building bricks for load.
When they carried out her coffin
Down the old Bog Road.

the Bay of Biscay after a great destroyer battle there. They were landed at Cobh and their internment at the Curragh brought the number of German Services personnel held there to about 200.

Most of the remainder were aircrew who had been shot down or had force-landed. The contrasting treatment accorded by the Free State to British and American personnel as opposed to the Germans will be detailed in another article.

STRIP-STRIKE

For the sentenced prisoners in A-Wing of Crumlin Road Jail in Belfast the grim ordeal of their strip-strike continued over Christmas 1943 and New Year 1944. Down south the unconditional release of internees from the Curragh Concentration Camp continued at a

dribble.

What Bowyer Bell recorded about winter '42-'43 was even more pronounced now, a year later.

"The local C/Os had no intention of risking arrest to keep up a good front. Even the relatively innocuous Republican 'political' activity that had been tolerated in the past now might lead to the Curragh. Parades ended. Training ended.

"Often even meetings of the IRA people ended. The intricate and long-lived infrastructure of the IRA in the country began to fray and break. The leaders and the best men were in prison...

"With no clear call from an acknowledged centre, with no plan of action, with the police eyeing the suspicious and their neighbours committed to neutrality, the local men withdrew into silence. The units imperceptibly disintegrated...

"The situation might have been called a holding action, but no one wanted to consider what the truncated IRA was holding out for. More than anything else the refusal to give up was a result of pride and a lack of alternatives.

"Most of the men on the run faced long sentences or execution. Emigration to exile in war-time was unlikely even if they had to admit that the end had come. So in Dublin and Belfast they waited..."

Harry White records a friendly offer in late 1944 to get Harry O'Rawe and himself flown out to the United States from Shannon. Harry dismissed the idea with "Sure, what would we be doing there?" Hope lingered and a sense of duty remained. The IRA endured and survived.

BALLAD OF EXILE

It is worth recording that in the previous August the poetess best known for her ballad of exile, *The Old Bog Road*, died in America. She was Teresa Brayton, born in Kildare, Co. Kildare in 1868 and she was a fervent Irish patriot and an unyielding Republican.

Before emigrating to the USA in 1908 she was an assistant teacher at Newtown in her native county and she had drawn wide attention with the publication of her attractive and racy verse in the national press.

During her frequent visits to Ireland she became friendly with the future leaders of the 1916 Rising and supported their cause in the US by distributing pamphlets and organising fundraising activities.

The National Songs, Ballads and Recitations of Ireland published by Joe Clarke's *Irish Book Bureau* carries some of her work in verse. In her Song of Seán McDermott she shows herself attuned to the regional variations in Ireland:

*And out of Aghrim shrilled the cry
'Strike in our name a blow long due
And we who dared to fight and die
For Erin, will be there with you!'*

*For Connacht slumbered not nor slept
Adown her years of scourge and thorn
But silently a vigil kept
For some high resurrection morn.*

In her *Manchester Martyrs* she ends with a stanza which indicates the international

dimension of the sacrifice of the Noble-Hearted Three:

*And not for the Land of their birth alone
Do they swing from your beams of shame,
But for every struggle this world has known,
In Liberty's holy name;
For the striving Right against ruthless Might,
Wherever the bonds may bind,
Young Allen, O'Brien and Larkin die
A ransom for all mankind.*

Then there is her recitation of the Free State War, *Maura O'Kelly from Galway* which the late Máire Drumm, Vice-President of Sinn Féin 1970-76, used to render with such spirit. It is sub-titled "A Galway woman returns from the funeral of her two soldier sons, slain treacherously by the tools of tyranny":

*Said Maura O'Kelly of Galway, and her eyes were flaming fire,
No Saxon foot shall trample the roots of the tree of my sons' desire
For where they were shot in Galway, and buried in Killalee
A thousand more are still to the fore for Irish liberty.*

*And what care I for the shoneens, what care I for the slaves,
And what care I for Britain's tools who have filled two soldiers' graves,
And what care I for a London peace that a Connacht gun can't share,
There will be no peace in Ireland while the Union Jack swings there.*

Spirited stuff indeed! A correspondent quoted in the Irish Times of August 26, 1943 said it was, perhaps, to be regretted that she restricted her literary activities to poetry. Her ability for historical writing was undoubted.

SOCIAL

He goes on: "Had she published the observations of her girlhood in and around Prosperous, Co. Kildare, during the excitement of Land League days, to the social aspect of which she contributed in a manner still remembered, she cannot but have produced a graphic and reliable work, for her powers of description were remarkable, and her references and reports conscientious.

"Teresa Brayton was a patriot, but never in the vulgar sense of a politician. I must say it was one of the special pleasures of my experience to have known her."

We salute the memory of the woman who gave us *The Old Bog Road* and so much besides. Fifty years ago she joined in eternity the company of those of whom it was said "We Sang for Ireland".

(More next month. Refs. *Harry* by Harry White; *The Secret Army* by J Bowyer Bell; *Spies in Ireland* by Enno Stephan; *Washington's Irish Policy 1916-86* by Seán Cronin; *National Songs, Ballads and Recitations of Ireland*, published by the Irish Book Bureau.)

Niece of 1916 leader dies

THE death took place on Monday, November 8 at her home in Kiltyclogher, Co Leitrim of Katie B Keaney, niece of the executed 1916 leader Seán Mac Diarmada. A native of Corranmore, Kiltyclogher she was 88 years old.

A life-long Republican activist, she and her mother Mrs Margaret Mac Dermott (died 1966) refused an honorary degree from the NUI on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the 1916 Rising in 1966. Degrees were offered to family representatives of all seven signatories of the Proclamation and the MacDermotts were not represented nor did they attend any official 26-County State functions.

Katie B Keaney rejected

the Workers' Party and in 1986 took her stand with Republican Sinn Féin. Although she was then over 80 years of age she attended many meetings of the organisation at the time to emphasise her commitment to the All-Ireland Republic.

Mrs Keaney was a respected figure on the platform at the annual Bundoran, Co Donegal hunger-strike commemoration, being absent last August for the first time.

Her remains were removed

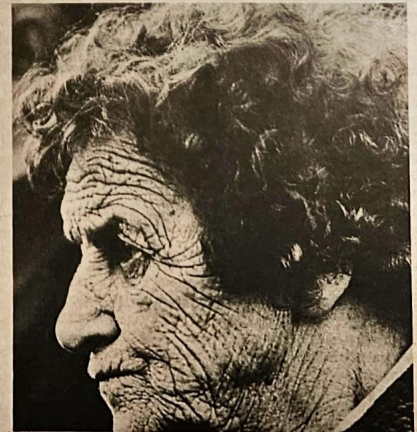
to Kiltyclogher Church on Tuesday evening, November 9. Internment took place after 11 am Mass the following day. The oration at the graveside was delivered by Ruairi O Brádaigh, President, Republican Sinn Féin, who said that "as a life-long, uncompromising Republican Katie B Keaney had been present at many meetings in Ulster and Connacht in 1986-'87 and since to emphasise her allegiance to the All-Ireland Republic. She was then over 80 years of age.

"In her teens she had opposed the disastrous Treaty of Surrender 1921 which was sold to the Irish people as something which would deliver a permanent peace. History had

vindicated her stand at that time.

"Similarly, she regarded any compromising, patched-up peace at this time as a device which would at best merely postpone the clash of Irish Nationalism and British Imperialism for the ownership of Ireland," he said.

Katie B Keaney is survived by nephews and nieces Billy, Seán and Peggy Rogan (New York), Winnie Keaney, (Garrison, Co Fermanagh), cousins Mary Fallon (nee McDermott) and Dan McDermott (Belfast), Mary Holt-Moore (New York), Rose Gallagher (Kiltyclogher) and by Tom Keaney (Garrison, Co Fermanagh) cousin of her husband Terence, who died in 1973.



• Katie B Keaney

Fenian Notes

By our Washington Correspondent

IN 1968, Mario Biaggi was elected to the United States Congress and served for 20 years during which time he was the premier supporter of the cause of Irish freedom in Congress. Mario loved the Irish people and he committed himself to our cause and made it his own. He never wavered, he never doubted, he never said no to the Irish. He never had to be asked twice and he was proud of his Irish Republican friends and they publicly embraced them.

Many politicians pander to voters for support, but Biaggi did not. His district never had more than 5% Irish. His commitment was sincere and he was a man of honour. He set the standard for others to follow.

At a function once, Mario said to those present that the real enemy of freedom in Ireland is the Dublin government. He said they are advocates of the status quo and that is a pro-British stance. What a history lesson that is.

During the 1970s Biaggi made three trips to Ireland. The first was to participate in the Newry march where

he spoke out for civil rights. In April 1975, he went to Dublin for the sole purpose of meeting with the leadership of the Republican Movement. He said to get their views he had to go to Ireland because they were denied visas to the US to the disgrace of America.

GREETED

He was greeted at the airport by Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, Máire Drumm, Jimmy Drumm, Deirdre Ó Conaill, Joe Cahill and others, at his request. He wanted the Special Branch to know his friends. That is not the most uncontroversial group to have as a reception committee.

At a joint press conference with the Republican leadership, Biaggi was accused of consorting with alleged supporters of violence by the press. His simple sincere rejoinder was that he was consorting with his friends.

At the press conference, Biaggi set out his support for a British declaration of intent to set a date for a British withdrawal as well as telling them that he is well aware of their human rights violations both to



• Michael Flannery (left) and Mario Biaggi.

civilians and political prisoners. That press conference enraged the British and Free State governments that they colluded to "get" Biaggi.

After the election of Democrat Jimmy Carter in 1976, the Brit/Free State colluders had to wait until there was a Republican Party President in office. The US Republican Party and the British Conservative Party are blood brothers (and sisters) and together have been out to destroy Irish freedom and Irish Republicanism. I must say there are individual exceptions, but most US Republicans are pro-British in the extreme.

COMMITTEE

The last straw for the colluders was the appointment of Biaggi as chairman of the Congressional Committee on Ireland, in 1977. Union

Jack Lynch and Garret Fitzgerald with the backing of the British came to Washington to announce they were going to destroy Biaggi and his Committee. They were seen as interfering in US matters and membership of the Biaggi Committee jumped from 60 to 132. The fools... the fools... the fools...

When Ronald Reagan, a lapsed Irishman took office in 1981, the British and their Irish hounds had a friend who would help rid them of Mario Biaggi. At the request of best friend Maggie Thatcher, Reagan put the FBI to work on manipulating evidence to set up Biaggi.

The US Justice Department charged Biaggi with accepting a bribe. What happened was Biaggi brought jobs into his constituency and the local boss paid a vacation bill as a surprise. When Mario found out the records show he paid back the bill himself. This they said was accepting a bribe. At the trial, taped conversations which had been altered were allowed in as evidence and used to convict. Reagan intervened and the judge and the prosecutor working as a team insured that an innocent man got convicted.

What Mario did — help the poor and helping a friend — are virtues where I come from. Mario Biaggi was tried and convicted for political reasons ordered by Reagan, a man without a

conscience for the benefit of Thatcher, a woman without a conscience. Biaggi became an Irish political prisoner in the US for which he served two years because he would not desert his Irish Republican friends.

For his persecution of the Irish in America and for his persecution of Mario Biaggi, Thatcher had Reagan knighted and Sir Ronald Reagan sold his Irish soul.

ROMAN WARRIOR

Today, Mario Biaggi still believes in Irish freedom and was recently seen in a picture with another Irish hero Michael Flannery at the latter's 90th birthday celebrations. Flannery, Biaggi, Ó Conaill, Keenan, Maguire, Ó Brádaigh and many others deserve the appellation UNREPENTANT in their quest for Irish freedom. Mario Biaggi is an authentic hero, an Irish hero, though the bold Roman Warrior has not a drop of Irish blood.

While on the subject of Congressman Biaggi, it would be remiss not to mention the aide who was with him for twenty years and who is still involved with the Irish and that is Bob Blancato, another Sicilian/Irishman. Bob has also been friendly to the Republican Movement and with his boss gave of himself selflessly to all who sought his help.

— Peadar Mac Fhinn

Brón ar an mBás Tom Sullivan

The death last weekend of Tom Sullivan of Sharnoboe, Co. Kilkenny recalled many stirring moments in contemporary Irish history. Tom who farmed for some years in Ballyduff, Waterford before moving back to his native area was very involved in political and militant Republican activities in South Kilkenny, Waterford and Wexford, in the 1960s era especially. World attention focused on the upsurge of resistance against British royal visits, attacks on Royal Navy warships in Waterford, riots, jailings, hunger strikes and protest actions which included explosions and tree felling in Kilmacow, Inistioge, Glenmore etc.

The coffin was draped with the Tricolour and many mourners in the large crowd wore Easter Lilies at the removal and burial in Rosbeacon, New Ross. There was heavy Garda presence at both ceremonies. Following the graveside prayers an old friend and

comrade of his, Richard Behal, Kilkarney (formerly of Kilmacow) was called on to give the oration. He extended condolences to the late Tom Sullivan's sister Bridie and brother Neddie and relatives on behalf of Republicans throughout Ireland.

In the course of his address he said: "Before we depart from this last resting place of our friend Tom it is fitting that we recall the part he played and suffered for in a historic period of the ongoing struggle for the just and full freedom of Ireland. Tom was a countryman who loved his land and its people and enjoyed a good humoured drink and a bit of craic.

"Tom was in support of the South Kilkenny and Waterford sections of Oglagh na hÉireann (IRA) taking action in 1964 against the 'semi-official' visit of Princess Margaret.

"The defence of the Easter Lily against attempts by the Dublin administration to suppress it and make people afraid or ashamed to wear it was a noble cause to Tom as he viewed the Lily as the pure symbol of Irish resistance, great

suffering and patriotic sacrifice. He served terms of imprisonment for selling the Lily and did over thirty days on hunger strike in Mountjoy jail. Many other services Tom rendered will be proudly recalled in future times."

In concluding his oration Richard Behal said "The naked sectarianism spilling out of TV screens during the soccer match in Belfast was stark evidence of evils that flow from foreign interference in Irish daily life. Tom knew that until the

British-controlled loyalist murder gangs were disarmed and the British army and government depart bag and baggage from our shores that Ireland can never be at peace."

I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh sé anois.

Johnny Donoghue

THE death took place at his residence in Slatta, Kilglass, Co Roscommon on Wednesday, November 10 of Johnny Donoghue, long-time Republican activists. He was aged 75 years.

The late Mr Donoghue was particularly active in the Sinn Féin general election campaigns in Roscommon and Longford in 1957 and 1961, and was a frequent caller to the Ó Brádaigh home at Battery Road, Longford.

Having spent some time working in England he was again active with Republican Sinn Féin and was an election worker

for Dermot Mullooly in the Strokestown area at Co Council elections. He also was a keen and active supporter of Republican prisoners.

Johnny Donoghue was a nephew of the late Captain Frank O'Donoghue, IRA, North Yarde, Scramogue, who was killed by Free State Forces in Rooskey in 1922. Unmarried, he is survived by his sisters, including Mrs Bridget

Cummins, Ballinacree, Boyle, nieces and nephews.

At the removal from the Funeral Home in Strokestown to Slatta Church, the coffin was draped in the Tricolour. A Guard of Honour of his comrades in Kilglass and Strokestown Cumann of Republican Sinn Féin escorted the hearse under the command of Ruairi Ó Brádaigh.

Following Requiem Mass next day the funeral took place at Kilglass Cemetery. Dermot Mullooly, Kilturman, Strokestown paid tribute in a Strokestown paid tribute in a graveside address to Johnny Donoghue's life-time of Republican activity.

Republican Prisoners Dependents Fund extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Katie B Keane of Killyclogher, Co Leitrim, who died on November 8. Go raibh suaimhneas síoraí dá anam.

O'SHEA, Deepest sympathy is extended to Sheila O'Sullivan, Kells Bay, Filtmore, Cahersiveen on the death of her brother Con O'Shea, Filtmore, Cahersiveen on November 12. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

Republican and took her stand with Republican Sinn Féin in 1986. Cuimhneois uirthi. From the Officer Board of Republican Sinn Féin.

KEANEY, Sincere sympathy is expressed to the family and friends of Katie B Keaney, Killyclogher, Co Leitrim, who died on November 8 last. From The Executive and Volunteers, Cumann na mBan. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh aici.

KEANEY, The Central Committee of CABHAIR. Irish

Comhbhrón

DOOLAN, Sincere sympathy is extended to the wife and family of Jarlath Doolan, Coolcorra, Kilkarney, a life-long Republican, who died on October 30 from Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

KEANEY, Deepest sympathy is extended to the relatives and friends of Katie B Keaney, Leitrim who died on November 8 last. From the Executive and Volunteers, Cumann na mBan. I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh aici.

KEANEY, The Central Committee of CABHAIR. Irish

Beannachtáí

O'NEILL, Best wishes is extended and a speedy recovery to good health to Mike O'Neill, Letter, Cahersiveen who is sick at the moment. From Kerry Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin Poblachtach.

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MAJOR BID TO COPPERFASTEN COLONIALISM

POLITICIANS are like monkeys: the higher they climb the tree, the more revolting are the parts they expose. This conclusion by onetime British Home Secretary William Lloyd George (not the Welsh-born Partition Premier David) is particularly pertinent as that grisly grey eminence, John Major, bids to copperfasten colonialism in the Wee Six Counties with a humiliating set of peace proposals designed to undermine the independence struggle.

Maggie Thatcher conjured a cowardly submarine attack on an Argentine cruiser heading for its home port, killing over 400 crew, in order to torpedo a Chile-inspired peace initiative for Falklands-Las Malvinas. Maggie needed a war to win an election.

John Major requires a bogus peace plan that will not work in order to maintain his shaky leadership of the Tory party, and so he pretends that surrender of freedom to combat foreign tyranny equates with justice.

Unfortunately, in these sad times when peace at any price seems acceptable to the Dublin 4 mentality, the conflict-weary Provisionals are perceived to be abandoning the last remnants of Republicanism.

SDLP leader John Hume, and the Provisionals' political chief Gerry Adams, were initially sidelined by rebuffs from an arrogant Major, who dare not permit the truth to be perceived.

That the Hume-Adams initiative presents Westminster and Whitehall with their best opportunity for almost a quarter century to subsume northern nationalists into a deal which will tie them to all too familiar colonial-style settlement.

Fearful that war weariness and a shortage of new military hardware may compel the nationalist guerrillas to call off their attritional campaign, Gerry Adams is ready to surrender to a political compromise so long as it gives him and his lieutenants a place at a constitutional conference table.

From this dilution of separatist principles, Adam's hopes to emerge as a Westminster MP in an anti-unionist election deal with the SDLP, and with party leadership perquisites in return for recognition of a new Stormont assembly.

Since the Adams school of non-abstentionist thinking emerged in the mid-Eighties, a full climbdown from Republican demands for a British withdrawal from the Occupied Six, an amnesty for nationalist and loyalist political prisoners, and the right to national self-determination via a 32-County plebiscite, has seemed inevitable.

How incredible it is that after more than a score years of brave battling against colonial oppression, the Provisionals now appear ready to compromise nearly all that hundreds of Volunteers and supporters have died for, out of the 3,000 graves filled in the latest phase of the 800-year conflict.

CLIMBING A GREASY POLE

STORMONT is dead — long live Stormont! This is scarcely the goal for which so many have given up their liberty or laid down their lives. Yet it is the only certainty that can be absolutely guaranteed when the dust has settled, and Major and Rabbit Albert Reynolds, head of the Leinster House Yahoos, have completed their infamous new Treaty terms.

WHAT THEY SAID

Adams may deliver Belfast and McGuinness could possibly carry it (Hume-Adams proposals) in Derry, but what about Tyrone, Armagh and even Down? That is a different day's work. And then there is always Republican Sinn Féin waiting in the wings...

— Father Denis Faul, Dunganon speaking on Shannonside (local) Radio at the beginning of November. It is not true to say that if

nationalist violence ceases that loyalist violence will automatically stop. In fact it could very well increase in intensity, particularly if discussions are taking place which loyalists see them as being inimical to their interests.

— David Norris, a member of the 26-County Senate, on Questions and Answers, RTE TV, November 8, 1993.

If the unionists feel abandoned by England and threatened by Dublin; if they perceive that nothing is left to them only their own Ulster identity, then we have something to say to them. In the context of an English public undertaking to withdraw, the Ulster identity is a legitimate identity, as is the Munster, Leinster and Connacht identity in each case. This identity can find

These will have to please the men with the permanent vetoes, DUP archbigot Ian Paisley, and UUP leader Jim Molyneux. Jim already has a secret pact in his pocket in return for bolstering the flagging Commons strength of Major's Tories. Hume and Adams are to get a greasy pole to climb.

Ian, in a rare mood of sanguine "generosity", is ready to give to nationalist elected representatives the chairmanship of a few Stormont committees, including health, housing, and social welfare, so long as the unionist combine controls the vital departments of finance, industry and commerce, agriculture, and public service development.

He has fixed a majority of 60 per cent as the one acceptable as a minimum before Stormont decisions can be rubber stamped by Westminster. Curiously, 60 per cent is less than the proportion of seats that unionists can be expected to command in a re-opened Stormont. Surprise, surprise.

Was it for these crumbs that so many Republicans and others gave up their freedom and families? Or was it the ideal of a Republic in which citizens of all creeds and none would be enabled to share in the overdue task of national regeneration of an island too long ruled by corrupt politicians and their fiscal masters? It required London Times foreign correspondent Simon



• Stormont

Jenkins to expose the sham at the heart of the Hume/Adams peace initiative when he told an aghast RTE Radio One presenter that the Six Counties was a typical colonial political product.

He inferred that such a set-up was politically insoluble without a withdrawal of "what many see as occupation forces". The presenter quickly cut off this remarkably commonsense contribution, and returned, with obvious relief, to a group of politicians who rambled on about the need for a cessation of violence in order to "allow peace to work".

PEACE WITH DISHONOUR

PEACE with dishonour has been available to opponents of colonial overlordship for centuries of shame. Simply, it means: Croppies lie down and accept the English as your natural masters.

A peace settlement that matters must include a British declaration of intent to go; an amnesty for political prisoners; and a free plebiscite in which the alternative to a unitary 32-County State of a Federal government sensitised in localising representation

in four provincial parliaments is presented fairly to voters.

Such an alternative to the sterile, sectarian-enhancing politics of Partition and centralised domination of money power cliques is known to be acceptable to a substantial number of influential Protestants.

They are tired of being taken for granted as Tory voting fodder, and targets for nationalist discontent.

Of course, such a truly Irish and independent policy would upset the Leinster House status quo. The politicians who have superintended so many business and squandermania scandals do not quite find the option of northern inspection of their nefarious nepotisms irresistible.

A succession of ambitious Irish and British politicians have shown an understandable desire to keep their greeds private. But as they climbed the political tree, the more revolting were the mendacities disclosed: bullying and bribery, surrender of principle, and an appetite for money and property power out of proportion with their official earnings.

Cabinets around Europe and the USA have included members who could be persuaded to sell their country's assets in return for wealth and high position.

But it has been left to this poor island to highlight the fact that the selling price is cheap indeed for some starved of the power and perks to boost egomanias.

Shorn of all sentiment, the Hume/Adams initiative has been revealed as a ridiculously short-term compromise, a ludicrously small expectation for so much sacrifice. But at least it has cleared the field for true Republicanism to be perceived for what it is: putting the public good above private greed.

REMEMBER? WHO CAN FORGET

THE nauseating hype that has surrounded this year's November 11 Remembrance Day commemorations in Enniskillen and Dublin has caused offence even to former members of the British armed forces.

A neighbour, who served as a squadron leader in the RAF in the dangerous early years of unequal combat against the German Luftwaffe, has withdrawn from membership of the British Legion as a protest against the "partisan and anti-Irish nature" of church and other demonstrations.

He pointed out that some, like himself, were from Home Rule Redmondite families, and not in the Republican tradition. But the ubiquitous propaganda of sending over the Princess of Wales to Enniskillen stirred resentment because it could "escalate sectarian feelings", he said.

In the aftermath of the Shankill Road bombing disaster and the cynical Greysteel, Co Derry massacre by vengeful loyalist gunmen, the ex-pilot commander found the reminder of a Provisionals' bombing at the Co Fermanagh capital on Armistice Day some years ago "propaganda in poor taste".

He was also critical of Mary Robinson's first ever appearance by a 26 Counties president at the St Patrick's Cathedral ceremonies in Dublin.

He agreed that it appeared to be taking sides at the expense of Republican ceremonies to honour their dead. Friends, he averred, felt the same disdain.

Poppy Day last month appeared to last for at least a fortnight. Yet it is too much for Republican Sinn Féin sellers of the Easter Lily to gain freedom for a day from harassment for their remembrance of the heroes and heroines of the Easter Rising.

CARSON AND EMMET

FRANTIC moves are being made to save the birthplace of Sir Edward Carson, father of unionism, at No 4 Harcourt Street, Dublin. They will need better luck than those who tried to stave off the destruction by developers of Robert Emmet's birthplace at 124-125 St Stephen's Green.

Not only did demolition proceed, but someone pinched the bronze plaque, noting the patriot's origins, off the wall.

—DRAPRIER II

luathimeacht na Sasanach ón tír seo san áireamh (ag plean Hume-Mhac Adam), ní fíú cec an Diabhaill é, mar phlean na síochána, measaim.

— Deasún Breatnach ina cholún 'Ruaille', sa nuachtán Lá (Béal Feirste), Samhain 18, 1993.

Ní bheidh seans dá laghad ag pleáir bith ar son na síochána gan an plean ceanna ag leagan síos, mar bhunphrionsabal, go gcaithfidh siad (na Sasanaigh) imeacht uain go deo na ndéor, agus gan lámh ar bith a bheith acu feasta i gcóir ar bith den tír seo.

— Deasún Breatnach sa cholún ceanna.

The basic aim of armed struggle and Republican military activity is to force a British statement of intent to withdraw. Where is that in all these documents? Adams

may well be able under present conditions to bring about a cessation of hostilities, but he will not be able to bring peace. In every generation men and women have been prepared to take up arms to end British presence on this island and every generation to come will most likely do the same.

— Malachy Steenson, Dublin in letter to the editor, Irish Press, November 23, 1993.

He would have kicked it over the house-tops.

— John Major's promised reaction if the news presented with the leaked Dublin administration document as recounted by Ian Paisley, November 24, 1993.

Molyneux's power of veto on any solution John Major might offer is absolute.

— Unnamed British cabinet minister quoted in the Financial Times, November 25, 1993.

— Mary Holland, Observer, November 28, 1993.